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Y. V. ANDROPOV

Speeches and Writings

LEADERS OF THE WORLD

General Editor: ROBERT MAXWELL, M.C.

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Speeches and Writings



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PUBLISHER'S NOTE TO READERS

*As is well known, Pergamon Press have for some time been
publishing books by senior Soviet politicians (Politbureau
members) for the purpose of enabling interested English-
speaking readers to know their views and opinions about inter-
national and domestic affairs.*

*The views expressed in this book are those of the author and not
necessarily those of the Publisher.*

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Soviet Preface

This collection which Pergamon Press offers to English-speaking readers contains speeches and reports by Yuri V. Andropov, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It consists of materials varying in content and referring to different years. Some events and phenomena that the author discusses have become a thing of the past and belong to history. The main subjects of this collection, however, are as vital as ever, reflecting the guidelines of Soviet policy in our day as well.

As is well known, the Soviet people have endured severe trials and overcome many difficulties. For all that they have seen many better times when they built a new life and new social relations. It has been for six and a half decades now that the Soviet people have been stubbornly advancing along the path of steady improvement in their well-being, an ever greater development of spiritual and cultural values, constant progress and the perfection of democracy. The motive force in this progressive movement is the free creative work of millions of people.

Soviet communists profess the philosophy of peace and construction. It is expressed practically in the country's long-term economic plans, in the whole moral atmosphere of Soviet society and in the Peace Programme put forward by the 24th, 25th and 26th Congresses of the CPSU.

The Soviet viewpoint is perfectly clear: we believe that the present international tensions can and must be eased, that the future belongs to the policy of *détente*. Peace based on a balance of terror is a costly and precarious peace, particularly in this nuclear age. It is not enough for guns to be silent. It is necessary for one to have no fear of tomorrow, for the voice of reason and mutual beneficial co-operation to be heeded by all. This is the aim that the Communist Party, the Soviet Government and the entire Soviet people are pursuing actively and indefatigably.

Not infrequently people form an incomplete or distorted idea of a certain country under the influence of various circumstances. This seems to be largely due to inadequate information.

It is to be hoped that acquaintance with the works of Yuri Andropov, who for many years was a close associate of Leonid Brezhnev, will help the reader to learn more about both the author and the Soviet Union. Knowing is the first step to understanding, and learning to understand one another is a necessary and highly important step towards trust and co-operation which are needed so badly in today's troubled world.

Moscow (January 1983)

Introduction By Robert General Editor World Series

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Introduction
By Robert Maxwell
General Editor of the "Leaders of the
World Series"

Most people on earth have recently asked themselves whether the election of Mr Yuri Andropov is a good thing for world peace and prosperity or otherwise. There is really no answer to this question until we have witnessed the results of his leadership during the next few years. Very little is known of Mr Andropov in the Western world. If we are to understand him and the policies he will try to pursue it may be helpful to examine a selection of his speeches and writings (including his very latest pronouncements in Moscow and Prague) which bear so much on the major issue of peace or war in our time and on relations between East and West, North and South. It is for this reason that I am glad to make this volume available in the Leaders of the World Series.

In retrospect it is clear that Yuri Andropov's speech given in Moscow in April 1982 on the occasion of a ceremonial meeting commemorating the 112th anniversary of Lenin's birth published in this volume entitled "Leninism: the Mainspring of the Revolutionary Energy and Creativity of the Masses" was given after it had been agreed by Mr Brezhnev and the Politburo that Mr Andropov should succeed Mr Brezhnev, and it may well be that Mr Andropov had been carrying out many of the functions of Mr Brezhnev prior to his death. One can in a sense regard this as his inaugural speech.

Andropov replies frankly to criticisms of the Soviet Union's role in other Socialist countries and to the debate on "models of socialism". He shows himself to be dismissive of the idea of Western democratic pluralism. Andropov clearly states his attitude, amongst other points, to Soviet society's advance towards communism. In his estimation the possibilities of the USSR have increased enormously.

He emphasises that the Soviet Union today has a vast economic potential, which has doubled during the last ten years alone. He discusses the improvements in the working people's standard of living, the development of industry and the programme of advancing agriculture, and the increasing production of consumer goods. At the same time, Andropov frankly highlights some of the weaknesses and failings within the Soviet economy and agriculture.

Andropov emphasises that the Soviet Union's willingness "to have a constructive dialogue with the United States" but lambasts the US approach to the latest round of nuclear arms limitation talks, highlighting what he sees as their delaying tactics to avoid any serious talks concerning the declared deployment of new missiles by NATO in Europe. Andropov urges the need for all negotiations to be conducted on the basis of the principles of parity and equal security and in an uncompromising statement indicates his intention to guarantee the defence capability of the USSR at a sufficient level to ensure its security.

Everybody is agreed that neither we nor the Soviet Union want war. What is at issue is not the level of Soviet or Western nuclear and non-nuclear armed forces but reconciling Soviet and Western estimates of what their own security demands.

Since Mr Andropov became the new leader of the Soviet Union he has devoted a great deal of his time to impose himself on the World stage as a careful and energetic leader and "dove of peace". He has suggested a summit meeting with President Reagan. He has serious offers for the reduction of armaments, both nuclear and conventional, for the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, for a non-aggression pact with NATO, and for a ban on all weapons in outer space. Mr Andropov would like to avoid war, as do all members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Towards this end he has proposed that an agreement be reached between the two blocs binding the two sides against first use of both nuclear and conventional armaments. Mr Andropov has also proposed to dismantle sufficient of his nuclear weapons to balance those held by Britain and France if the Europeans will forego the planned installation this year of US Cruise and Pershing missiles.

The Warsaw Pact Meeting Political Declaration which I have pub-

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lished as an addendum to this book makes a series of proposals as follows: the USSR and US should freeze their long-range nuclear arsenals at present levels; all nuclear powers should promise not to use their nuclear weapons first; conventions should be drafted at the 40-nation Geneva disarmament conference to: prohibit all tests of nuclear weapons; eliminate all chemical weapons; outlaw the neutron bomb; talks on naval disarmament, limits on the deployment of warships and naval confidence-building measures should be started; talk on limiting sales of conventional weapons should be resumed; NATO and the Warsaw pact should agree on measures to limit military spending; nuclear free zones should be established in northern Europe and in the Balkans; steps should be taken towards dismantling all foreign military bases and withdrawing troops from foreign territories; NATO and Warsaw pact should sign a treaty renouncing the use of force against each other; this could later be extended to other countries; agreements on arms control should be properly verified, where necessary by 'international procedures'.

Mr Andropov, however, is opposed to unilateral disarmament. He said: "We are in favour of searching for a sound basis for a solution to the most complicated problems acceptable to both sides . . . primarily of course to curbing the arms race, both nuclear and conventional. However, no-one can expect us to disarm unilaterally. We are not naïve, we are not demanding unilateral disarmament of the West, we are in favour of equality, respect for the interests of both side, an honest agreement. We are fully prepared for a fair deal."

Even the major political opponents of the Soviet Union such as Mr Reagan, Mr Weinberger, Mr Mitterand, Mrs Thatcher and Herr Kohl must accept that not all of Mr Andropov's proposals are for propaganda purposes. It is certainly not enough for Western leaders to be dismissive about Mr Andropov's overtures. The average voter of the Western world hears talk of peace from Mr Andropov, the head of one of the super powers; in the interest of our Western leaders not losing the confidence of a substantial number of their electorate these proposals cannot be ignored. They require careful consideration followed by constructive, detailed negotiations at a well-prepared summit later this year.

Like many people who read this volume, I do not agree with

everything Mr Andropov says or writes. I hope this volume (containing a selection of Mr Andropov's speeches and writings during the past 20 years as he worked his way to the top post in his country) will be useful for all those who need to know, understand, interpret and anticipate the broad outline of possible Soviet policies at home and abroad.

Oxford, January 1983

ROBERT MAXWELL
General Editor of the
"Leaders of the World Series"

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**Speech at the Extraordinary Plenary
Meeting of the CPSU Central
Committee
12 November 1982**

Comrades!

Our Party and country, the entire Soviet people, have suffered a severe bereavement. Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, the leader of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet state, an outstanding leader of the international communist and working-class movement, an ardent communist, a loyal son of the Soviet people, has died.

The greatest political leader of today is no longer with us. He was our comrade and friend, a man with a noble soul and a generous heart, tactful and friendly, responsive and profoundly humane. Utter dedication to our common cause, uncompromising exactingness to himself and to others, wise circumspection in taking important decisions, high-principledness and courage at crucial moments of history, invariable respect for and attention to people—such are the remarkable qualities which won Leonid Brezhnev high prestige and affection in the Party and among the people.

I request you to honour the dear memory of Leonid Brezhnev with a minute's silence. . . .

Leonid Brezhnev used to say that every day of his life was inseparably bound up with the affairs of the Soviet Communist Party and the country as a whole. That was truly so.

The country's industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture, the Great Patriotic War and the postwar economic recovery, virgin land development and space exploration—all of these are great milestones on the path of the Soviet people's work and struggle, as well as on the path traversed by Leonid Brezhnev as a communist.

The growth of the power of the great socialist community of nations and the development of all-round co-operation between them, the active involvement of the world communist movement in

accomplishing the historic tasks facing mankind in our epoch, the strengthening of the solidarity of all forces of national liberation and social progress on earth are inseparably associated with his name and his contributions.

Leonid Brezhnev will be always thankfully remembered by mankind as a consistent, ardent and indefatigable fighter for peace and the security of nations, for removing the danger of world thermonuclear war overhanging mankind.

We know full well that peace cannot be secured by begging for it from imperialists. Peace can be defended only by reliance on the invincible power of the Soviet Armed Forces. As the leader of the Party and the head of state, and as Chairman of the USSR Defence Council, Leonid Brezhnev gave unflagging attention to maintaining the country's defence capability at a modern level.

Assembled in this hall are the members of our Party's headquarters, headed continuously by Leonid Brezhnev for eighteen years. Each of us knows how much effort and spirit he put into organizing concerted, collective work for this headquarters in order to map out its correct Leninist policy. Each of us knows of his inestimable contribution to creating the healthy moral and political climate characteristic of our Party's life and work today.

Our Party's high-principled struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism, the evolvement of the theory of developed socialism, the charting of the ways of fulfilling the most pressing tasks in communist construction, are associated with his name. His activity in the world communist movement has rightly deserved extremely high appreciation from the fraternal parties, our foreign class brothers, our comrades in the struggle for socialism against capitalist oppression, for the triumph of the great communist ideals.

Leonid Brezhnev's life ended at a time when his thoughts and efforts were focused on implementing the great tasks in economic, social and cultural development outlined by the 26th Congress of the CPSU and the subsequent plenary meetings of its Central Committee. It is our prime duty to achieve these tasks, to carry into effect consistently the home and foreign policies of our Party and the Soviet state planned under Leonid Brezhnev's guidance. This will be our finest tribute to the dear memory of our late leader.

Our grief

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Our grief is infinite. The loss we have suffered is severe.

In this situation it is the duty of each of us, of every communist, to close our ranks still more tightly, to rally still more closely around the Party's Central Committee, to do our utmost in our jobs and in our lives for the benefit of the Soviet people, for the consolidation of peace, for the triumph of communism.

The Soviet people have implicit trust in their Communist Party. They know that the Party has never served any interests other than the vital interests of the Soviet people. To live up to this trust means to advance along the path of communist construction, to work for the further prosperity of this great socialist country.

There is a factor which invariably helps us at the most critical junctures and enables us to cope with the most formidable tasks. This factor is the unity of our Party ranks, the Party's collective wisdom and its unity with the people.

We have assembled for this plenary meeting in order to honour Leonid Brezhnev's memory and to ensure the continuation of the cause to which he dedicated his life.

This plenum is to elect a new General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Please submit your suggestions on this matter.

Speech at the funeral of Leonid Brezhnev in Red Square

15 November 1982

Comrades!

Our Party and people, all progressive mankind, have lost a great leader. Today we pay our last respects to Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, a splendid son of this country, a dedicated Marxist-Leninist, an outstanding leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, the most prominent figure in the international communist and working-class movement, a tireless fighter for peace and friendship among nations. Allow me first of all to express our heartfelt condolences to his family, his near and dear ones.

Leonid Brezhnev belonged to the constellation of political leaders raised and steered in the years of the Soviet people's selfless struggle to consolidate the achievements of the Great October Socialist Revolution, to fulfil Lenin's behests, to build socialism in this country, to uphold its freedom and independence.

A worker and soldier, a skilful organizer and a wise political leader, Leonid Brezhnev was linked to the people by vital, inseparable ties. All his life and work were a continuous record of service to the working people. He devoted all his brilliant talent and all his ebullient energy to the cause of socialism—a society of freedom and social justice, the working people's brotherhood.

Leonid Brezhnev's activities in the top Party and government posts marked a crucially important period in the history of our Party and country. It was under his guidance that the Party policy permeated with constant concern for the working people, for improving their well-being, was planned and consistently carried into effect, the Leninist norms of Party life and government work were strongly affirmed and the favourable atmosphere of efficient teamwork was firmly established.

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The people will always remember Leonid Brezhnev as an outstanding champion of lasting peace and peaceful co-operation among nations. He struggled consistently and enthusiastically for an easing of international tensions, for delivering mankind from the menace of nuclear war, for strengthening the cohesion of the socialist community of nations, and for unity of the international communist movement.

At this hour of grief, bidding farewell to Leonid Brezhnev, our Party and its Central Committee declare their determination to follow firmly and consistently the strategic line in home and foreign policies charted under Leonid Brezhnev's beneficial influence.

The Soviet people are rallying still more closely behind the Party, its Leninist Central Committee and its collective leadership and are declaring their support for the Party policy and their infinite trust in the Party. The Party will continue to do whatever is necessary for further improving the people's living standards, for developing the democratic foundations of Soviet society, for strengthening the country's economic and defence potentials, for promoting friendship among the sister nations of the Soviet Union. The CPSU Central Committee shall unswervingly implement the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress, abiding by the will of the Soviet people.

We will do our utmost to strengthen further the cohesion of the great community of socialist states, the unity of the world's communists in the struggle for their common goals and ideals. We will maintain and develop our solidarity and our co-operation with the countries which have thrown off the colonial yoke, with the peoples struggling for their national independence and social progress. We will always be allegiant to the cause of the struggle for peace and a relaxation of international tensions.

In the current complicated international situation, where the imperialist forces are attempting to prod nations to a path of hostility and military confrontation, our Party and state will steadfastly uphold the vital interests of this country, and maintain high vigilance and preparedness to give a devastating rebuff to any attempted aggression. They will multiply their efforts in the struggle for the security of nations and strengthen co-operation with all peace-loving forces on earth. We are always prepared for honest and mutually beneficial

co-operation based on equality with any state willing to reciprocate.

In these days of mourning we feel especially keenly the support for and solidarity with our Party and the Soviet people on the part of the working people in the socialist countries, the fraternal parties, all fighters for social progress. We are thankful to them for that. We are also grateful to the governments and peoples of many countries in all continents who have honoured Leonid Brezhnev's memory at this time.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union firmly declares that service of the cause of the working class, all working people, the cause of peace and communism to which Leonid Brezhnev dedicated all his life, constitutes and will constitute the supreme goal and meaning of all its activities.

Farewell, dear comrade and friend! Your memory will live forever in our hearts. Your cause will be continued in the accomplishments of our Party and people!

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**Speech delivered at the Plenary
Meeting of the CPSU Central
Committee
22 November 1982**

Comrades!

We are completing the discussion of the draft plan and budget for the next year of the Five-year Plan. In the documents submitted to us a number of essential remarks made at the Politbureau meeting have already been taken into account. I expect that in the process of fulfilling the plan the Council of Ministers will also take into consideration the suggestions made by some comrades today.

Judging by what the speakers at this plenary meeting have said we have a consensus: the draft plan and budget correspond on the whole with the guidelines of the 26th Congress of the CPSU and should be approved.

What is characteristic of the draft plan? It is planned to step up the rates of economic development, to increase the absolute increment in national income, the output of industry and agriculture, and the turnover of retail trade. The efforts to advance the efficiency of the national economy are to be continued; the heavy tasks facing it must be accomplished with a relatively smaller increase in material and labour inputs.

It is important to emphasize that the draft follows the Party line of advancing the well-being of the working people. It is planned to secure an accelerated growth of the group "B" industries, to increase consumer goods production. Large material and financial resources have been allocated for the continued development of the agro-industrial complex. The real incomes of the population will continue to grow. The scope of housing construction also corresponds to the assignments of the Five-year Plan.

Thus, the draft plan confirms that concern for the Soviet people, their working and living conditions, and their cultural advancement remains the Party's key programme principle.

As usual, the defence needs have been sufficiently taken into account. The Politbureau believe that it is indispensable to give the armed services everything they need, particularly in the present international situation.

The draft budget secures the financing of the national economy and sociocultural development.

The current plenary meeting of the Party's Central Committee is taking place at an important stage in the drive to implement the assignments of the Eleventh Five-year Plan, on the eve of its third, pivotal, so to say, year. We have done a good deal of work. Ahead of us, however, is another period of hard and tense effort.

I wish to draw your full attention to the fact that the assignments for the first two years of the Five-year Plan have not been fulfilled for a number of major indicators. This has naturally affected the draft we are discussing today.

The Central Committee members remember Leonid Brezhnev's last statements and his memoranda on economic development problems submitted to the Central Committee's Politbureau. He posed the question as follows: at Party Congresses and plenary meetings of the Central Committee we have worked out an economic policy on scientific lines and set a course for advancing the efficiency of production, its intensification. However, the transition of the economy to this course, the turn towards efficiency, is being implemented slowly for the time being.

The main indicator of the efficiency of the economy—the productivity of labour—is growing at a rate that cannot satisfy us. The problem of discrepancy in the development of the raw materials and manufacturing branches remains unresolved. Material consumption per unit product practically fails to be reduced.

Plans are being fulfilled as before at the cost of large spending and production outlays. There are still quite a few economic executives who readily quote Leonid Brezhnev's smart expression "the economy must be economical" but are doing practically little to cope with this task.

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Evidently the force of inertia, the old habits, are still there. And some probably simply don't know how to get things moving. It is necessary to think of ways to help such comrades. What matters most now is to step up efforts to improve the entire sphere of guidance of the economy: management, planning, the economic mechanism.

It is mandatory to create such conditions—both economic and organizational—that would stimulate high-quality efficient work, initiative and resourcefulness. And conversely, poor work performance, inaction, negligence must directly and inevitably affect the material remuneration, official status and moral prestige of executives.

It is necessary to enhance the responsibility for compliance with the general interests of the state and the people, to resolutely uproot narrow departmental attitudes and parochialism. It is necessary to make it a rule that every new decision on one and the same question may be taken only when the earlier decisions have been fulfilled or some new circumstances have arisen. The struggle against any breaches of Party, state and labour discipline should be waged more vigorously. I am confident that in this matter we shall have full support from the Party and trade union organizations, from all Soviet citizens.

Of late there has been much talk of the need to widen the scope of independence of associations and enterprises, collective and state farms. I believe it is time practical steps were taken to settle this question. Appropriate assignments have been given in this connexion to the Council of Ministers and the State Planning Committee. In this area one should act with circumspectness, to carry out experiments, and if necessary also to assess and take into consideration the experience of the fraternal countries. Greater independence should in all cases be combined with greater responsibility and concern for the general national interests.

We have great latent reserves in the national economy. This has been pointed out in particular by today's speakers. These reserves should be brought into play by accelerating the rates of scientific and technological progress, by broad and prompt application of the achievements of science and technology and advanced experience in the production field. This question, of course, is not a new one. It has

more than once been raised at Party Congresses and plenary meetings of the Central Committee. Nevertheless, progress in this field is slow. Why is that so? The answer has also been long known: to introduce a new process or new technology, production should be reorganized one way or the other, and this affects the fulfilment of the plan. Moreover, one will be held responsible for failure to fulfil the plan, while all one will get for inadequate application of new technology will be just reproach.

If we really want to give a boost to the application of new technology and new methods of work it is necessary to ensure that the central economic bodies of the State Committee for Science and Technology and the Ministries should not simply recommend them but bring to light and deal with the practical difficulties hindering scientific and technological progress. Combination of science and production should be facilitated by the planning methods and the system of material incentives. It is necessary to see to it that those who boldly introduce new technology will not find themselves at a disadvantage.

Another large latent reserve is national utilization of material and labour resources. The plan for 1983 has set increased assignments for saving them. However, I wish to call your attention to the fact that now the problem of saving material resources should be regarded in a new way and not just as follows: "to save" is good and "not to save" is tolerable.

Economy and a frugal attitude to national wealth today are crucial to the feasibility of our plans. A solution to this problem should be secured by a complete system of practical measures, primarily on the part of the USSR State Planning Committee and the USSR Committee for Materials and Technical Supply, the Ministries and government departments. Great work is in store for all Party committees and Party organizations.

We have quite a few examples of work with initiative, of a truly frugal attitude to national wealth. Unfortunately, however, this experience is not being disseminated adequately, though more often than not no great spending is required to spread it. This means a different kind of shortage: a lack of initiative and of a determined struggle against mismanagement and extravagance.

Needless to say, the participation of the masses in the development of the economy is necessary to the solution of the problem.

On the whole, the economy of the USSR is in a solution. All the answers to the problems of the national and world economy are in the best practice of the Soviet Union alone will not be enough. Efforts on the part of the engineering and import sectors of every sector of the department are necessary.

I wish to stress the importance of the impetus to the movement in the field of the economy.

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It is clear that the

Needless to say, this task can be accomplished only with the active participation of every worker, every working man and woman employed in our enterprises, every collective and state farmer. It is necessary to ensure that they regard this task as their own vital cause.

On the whole there are many pressing problems in the national economy. Naturally, I have no ready-made prescriptions for their solution. All of us—the Party's Central Committee—must find the answers to these problems. We must find them by summing up our national and world experience, by accumulating the expertise of the best practical workers and scientists. Generally speaking, slogans alone will not get things moving. What is needed is great organizing efforts on the part of Party organizations, economic executives, engineering and technical personnel, so that each of these enormous and important tasks may be examined not only from the angle of every sector of the economy but also from that of every plant, every department and section, and, if you like, every working place.

I wish to emphasize that these are problems of top priority, of vital importance to the country. Their effective solution will give an impetus to further economic development and continued improvement in the people's standards of living.

The measures to implement the Food Programme are at the focus of our plans.

The first steps to carry out the resolutions of the May 1982 plenary meeting of the Central Committee had to be taken in a fairly difficult situation. Also the weather was not favourable to us this year. It is all the more important, therefore, to commend the selfless work of the Soviet farmers. Their efforts as well as the reinforcement of the material and technological facilities of agriculture have yielded fairly good results in a number of regions, territories and Republics. The grain harvest has markedly increased compared with last year's, and a fairly good crop of cotton, vegetables and grapes has been grown. There has been an increment in the production of milk and eggs. The subsidiary farms of industrial plants are gaining strength. Concern for developing individual subsidiary farming has also proved fruitful. For all that, shortages in the supplies of certain foodstuffs have not yet been eliminated.

It is clear to all, of course, that the implementation of the Food

Programme is not a matter of one year. This is clearly so. Nevertheless, we are obliged to say frankly that the implementation of this programme should not be procrastinated. The workers of the agro-industrial complex must step up their efforts day by day, to work in such a way as to make the enormous funds appropriated for the fulfilment of this task yield fruit today and still greater fruit tomorrow.

The Politbureau believe that the forthcoming plenary meetings and meetings of Party committee activists, the sessions of the Soviets of People's Deputies which will discuss the plans for the next year, must also review progress in implementing the resolutions of the Central Committee's plenary meeting of May 1982. It is necessary for us to dovetail all practical efforts in this important area of economic work with the provisions of the Food Programme.

I will not dwell in detail on how important it is to complete the agricultural season in good fashion, to preserve the harvest taken in, to lay the basis for next year's harvest, to secure good winter accommodation for livestock. All this is self-evident. It is necessary to attack without delay new tasks, considering them as being closely bound up with the guidelines for developing the agro-industrial complex and bearing in mind that it is precisely a complex where no problem is of secondary importance.

In the plan for 1983 keen attention is paid to increasing the output and improving the quality of consumer goods, to which Leonid Brezhnev attached special significance. The task is not only to increase production but also to advance significantly the quality of consumer goods. This concerns not only light and local industries but also heavy and defence industry enterprises.

Local party and government bodies should directly concern themselves with consumer goods production, as Comrade Baibakov has quite correctly pointed out here. Indeed, a situation where the question of manufacturing a number of simple items is decided at a level almost as high as the USSR State Planning Committee cannot be accepted as normal. It is necessary for local bodies to take charge of this work and assume full responsibility for its performance.

Now let me dwell on some major problems involved in the development of key industries. This refers primarily to the continued

development of the fuel and energy complex. The increment in primary energy resources of about 41 million tons of fuel in conventional units planned for 1983 is a perfectly feasible target. This will ensure trouble-free and regular operation of all energy systems.

It is highly important to make rational use of coal, natural gas, crude, petroleum products, thermal and electrical power. This requires, of course, a certain restructuring in all industries, primarily broad introduction of energy-saving technology and processes, an improvement in normatives, and more effective material and moral incentives in the drive for economy, stricter responsibility for overexpenditure, for overstepping quotas and ceilings.

It is planned to submit to the next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet a proposal to set up at the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities standing commissions for power development to supervise the work of the Ministries and call economic executives of any rank to account for irrational use of resources.

It is necessary to galvanize into action the commissions set up in territories, regions and Republics to supervise the organization of this work at enterprises.

The Politbureau are concerned about the situation in the transport services. The Ministry of Railways fails as before to meet the needs of the national economy in the transportation of fuel, timber, and other freight. The CPSU Central Committee is receiving a large number of complaints on this score from local government and economic organizations. This plenary meeting has also discussed this question today.

The standards of railway services have unfortunately been deteriorating year after year in spite of the important assistance rendered to the Ministry of Railways by the Government. The amount of capital investments in the services run by this Ministry has grown by 43 per cent since 1975, while the fleet of main-line and electric locomotives has grown by 23 per cent. The CPSU Central Committee and the Government have adopted a series of resolutions to improve the social conditions of railwaymen, to perfect the economic mechanism in the transport services. These measures, however, have not yet yielded the desired effect.

In the services under the Ministry of Railways the organization of

repairs and maintenance of the fleet of locomotives and the organization of traffic are of a low standard. Evidently, not only the leadership of this Ministry but also the USSR Council of Ministers and the CPSU Central Committee will have to draw serious conclusions from the criticisms expressed at this plenary meeting.

There have been more frequent bottlenecks in the operation of iron-and-steel plants. Just as last year, this industry has failed to cope with its plan assignments. The national economy has received a few million tons of rolled stock less than planned. It is primarily the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy that is to blame for the situation in this industry. Of course, there are also objective difficulties. A significant share of the basic productive capacities requires reconstruction and modernization. The Ministry is in need of effective help from the State Planning Committee, the State Committee for Materials and Technical Supply and the engineering Ministries.

We invest enormous funds in economic development, the construction of new capacities, housing construction, and the development of cultural and service establishments. Effective use of these funds is a task of crucial significance. However, quite a few problems still exist in the sphere of capital construction. It is mandatory to oppose more resolutely the scattering of material resources and manpower between numerous building projects. The share of reconstruction and modernization should be increased, and the number of new construction projects reduced. We are dissatisfied with many aspects of the organization of construction as such. The shortcomings existing here result year after year in underfulfilment of plans of commissioning new capacities. A number of construction Ministries tend to reduce the scope of building and assembly operations, although the Government provides large financial resources, machinery and equipment to reinforce the material and technological facilities of these Ministries. In many instances the standards of building and assembly work remain low. The mobility of building organizations is insufficient.

Quite a few resolutions have been adopted to eliminate these drawbacks. They must be fulfilled. To introduce order in capital construction is one of the central tasks in the national economy.

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omy. All of them are important for our society and our people. Every Ministry and government department should again and again analyse the situation thoroughly and devise and implement effective measures to cope with existing problems. The chief criterion they should use to assess their work is the degree to which their respective branches meet the steadily growing needs of society.

Efforts to secure constant economic growth and improvement of public welfare are our duty to the Soviet people and our internationalist duty. Viewing this question in this light, the Party is guided by Lenin's far-sighted statement to the effect that the main influence on the world revolutionary process is exerted by our economic policy.

Leonid Brezhnev's death has caused a plethora of conjectures abroad about the future policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government on the international scene. Just recall how many attempts have been made in the last years to ascribe to the Soviet Union various malicious intentions, to depict our policy as aggressive and endangering the security of now one state, now another. Today, however, apprehensions are being voiced lest this policy be revised. Its continuation is regarded as crucial to peace and tranquillity in the international arena.

I must declare with the full awareness of my responsibility that Soviet foreign policy has been and will remain as it was laid down in the resolutions of the 24th, 25th and 26th Party Congresses. To secure lasting peace, to defend the right of nations to independence and social progress are invariable aims of our foreign policy. In the struggle to achieve these aims the leadership of the Party and state will pursue a high-principled, consistent and balanced policy.

We believe that the difficulties and tensions characteristic of today's international situation can and must be overcome. Mankind cannot tolerate the arms race and wars indefinitely unless it wants to put its own future at stake. The CPSU is against a contest between ideas turning into a confrontation between states and peoples, against arms and preparedness to resort to arms becoming a criterion of the potentials of social systems.

The aggressive intrigues of the imperialists are compelling us and our allies, the fraternal socialist nations, to concern ourselves seriously with maintaining our defence capability at an adequate level.

However, as Leonid Brezhnev has repeatedly stated, military rivalry is not our choice. A world without arms is an ideal of socialism.

The strengthening of the socialist community of nations will continue to be a matter of prime concern to our Party. Unity is the source of our strength and the guarantee of eventual success even in the most gruelling trials.

All the plans of the community of socialist states are plans of peace and construction. We are striving for relations of comradely co-operation and socialist mutual assistance between the fraternal countries to become even more close and fruitful, in particular in the joint solution of scientific and technological, production, transport, energy and other problems. Further joint steps are already being planned in this context.

The CPSU and the Soviet Government sincerely desire to develop and improve relations with all socialist countries. Mutual goodwill, respect for the lawful interest of each other, common concern for the interests of socialism and peace must suggest the right decisions also where there is not yet for various reasons the necessary trust and mutual understanding.

This refers in particular to our great neighbour, the People's Republic of China. The ideas Leonid Brezhnev expressed in his speeches in Tashkent and Baku and his emphasis on common sense and the need to overcome the inertia of prejudice expressed the convictions of all our Party and its desire to look ahead. It is with keen attention that we respond to every positive response to this from the Chinese side.

The significance of the groups of states which have founded the non-aligned movement is growing in international affairs. The Soviet Union maintains with many of them many-sided friendly ties which benefit both sides and contribute to greater stability in the world. This is exemplified by the Soviet Union's relations with India. Solidarity with the states which have thrown off the colonial yoke and help with defending their independence has been and remains one of the fundamental principles of Soviet foreign policy.

From the early days of Soviet government the Soviet Union has invariably expressed its desire to co-operate sincerely and honestly with all countries willing to reciprocate. The difference between the

social systems should not obstruct it where there is no conflict of this is the approach to co-operation between Europe.

It is our profound desire to exert a beneficial influence on mankind's difficult situation today. No, the political wave of the future is not the wave of the future.

All have an equal right to peace. Therefore, states are linked to the development of some preliminary steps to say the least. We have nothing to offer anybody, nor do we sign, and we wish to re-emphasize but it should be

We see the need for Western countries to overcome our differences and efforts of different problems will be pursued for the future. We are in favour of complicated problems and the problems of the international. However, we are not naïve.

We are not in favour of an agreement.

As regards the USSR, that as a first

social systems should not obstruct this co-operation and do not obstruct it where there is goodwill on both sides. Conclusive evidence of this is the appreciable progress in the development of peaceful co-operation between the USSR and many countries of Western Europe.

It is our profound belief that the seventies, which passed under the beneficial influence of *détente*, were not an accidental episode in mankind's difficult history, as is alleged by some imperialist leaders today. No, the policy of *détente* is by no means a thing of the past. It is the wave of the future.

All have an equal interest in the preservation of peace and *détente*. Therefore, statements in which consent to normalize relations is linked to the demand that the Soviet Union should pay for this with some preliminary concessions in various fields do not sound serious, to say the least. We will not agree to that. As a matter of fact, we have nothing to desist from: we have not introduced sanctions against anybody, nor do we renounce the treaties and agreements we have signed, and we have not broken off any negotiations once started. I wish to re-emphasize that the Soviet Union is in favour of agreement, but it should be sought on a basis of reciprocity and equality.

We see the meaning of the talks with the United States and other Western countries, primarily on arms race limitation, not in fixing our differences. We regard negotiations as a means of pooling the efforts of different states to achieve results beneficial to all parties. Problems will not cease to exist by themselves if negotiations are pursued for their own sake, which, unfortunately, is often the case. We are in favour of quests of a sound basis for a solution to the most complicated problems acceptable to the sides, primarily, of course, to the problems of curbing the arms race, both nuclear and conventional. However, nobody should expect us to disarm unilaterally. We are not naïve.

We are not demanding unilateral disarmament of the West. We are in favour of equality, respect for the interests of both sides, an honest agreement. We are fully prepared for a fair deal.

As regards, in particular, the strategic nuclear arms in possession of the USSR and the USA, the Soviet Union has agreed, as is known, that as a first step towards future agreement the two sides should

"freeze" their arsenals, thereby creating a more favourable climate for a continuation of talks on their mutual reduction.

The Soviet Union rejects in general the viewpoint of those who are trying to persuade people that force and arms decide and will always decide everything.

The peoples are now coming to the forefront of the historical arena on a scale unknown before. They have gained the right to voice their opinion which nobody will be able to silence. By their active and determined efforts they can remove the danger of nuclear war, preserve peace and hence life on our planet. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government will do everything to this end.

The 26th CPSU Congress detailed the Party's long-term strategy for the period of the Eleventh Five-year Plan and for the eighties as a whole. The aim of this strategy is to secure that the life of the Soviet people is improved year after year, that their work yields ever more tangible fruit, that our socialist system reveals its humane essence and its constructive potentials ever more completely.

Important and largely new tasks have been set in all fields of economic and social progress. Success, of course, depends on many factors, primarily on the purposeful collective work of our Central Committee, on our ability to concentrate the efforts of Party, government and economic bodies and all labour collectives in the key directions.

It is necessary to mobilize all facilities at our disposal, to launch a wide public education campaign to explain the tasks of the plan of 1983. They must be specified in relation to the tasks facing every enterprise, every labour collective. This is our first objective.

Second, it is necessary to ensure correct placement of cadres, so that work in decisive areas can be directed by politically mature and competent people with initiative, organizing talent and a hunch for innovation, without which successful management of modern production is impossible today.

Third, it is necessary to stimulate the activity of the working people themselves. This is the central task facing party committees, government, trade union and YCL bodies today. As is known, the Party's ideas, plans and appeals become a material force only when they

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have been adopted by the masses. Today it is crucially important and necessary that every working man and woman realize that the fulfilment of the plan depends on their own labour contribution as well, that all understand the simple truth that the better we work, the better we live. As Lenin emphasized, the wider the scope of our plans and our production tasks, the "greater the numbers of people who should be drawn by the millions into independent participation in the fulfilment of these tasks".

This means that it is necessary to ensure the continued development of socialist democracy in its broadest sense, that is ever more active involvement of the working people in the management of the affairs of state and society. Naturally, there is no need to argue here to prove how important it is to display concern for the needs of the working people, for their working and living conditions.

We will always be unswervingly faithful to the Leninist norms and principles which have been securely affirmed in the life of the Party and state.

The tasks facing us are truly enormous and complex. Our Party, however, can measure up to them.

The days when we paid our last respects to Leonid Brezhnev have shown to the whole world that our Communist Party and the Soviet people are linked by indissoluble ties, that they are united by their common determination to follow staunchly and undeviatingly the path charted by Lenin.

The Soviet people have again demonstrated their utter devotion to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, their profound respect and affection for the Party, their organization, self-control, and confidence in their strength.

We look forward to an important event in the history of our multinational socialist state—the 60th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In these days the Soviet people devote their finest thoughts to the Leninist Party which stood at the cradle of the USSR and is wisely leading the peoples of this country along the path of communist construction.

To strengthen the unity of the Party and people, to follow steadfastly the great Lenin's behests—this is the guarantee of our future triumphs!

The USSR: Sixty Years
Report on the occasion of the 60th
anniversary of the USSR in the Kremlin
Palace of Congresses, 21 December 1982

Dear comrades!

Esteemed guests!

Sixty years ago the peoples of this country, liberated by the victorious October Revolution, joined of their own free will in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Summing up the deliberations of the First unifying congress of the Soviet Republics, which proclaimed the formation of the USSR, Mikhail I. Kalinin¹ said: "For thousands of years mankind's best minds have been struggling with theoretical problems in quests of forms that would enable the peoples to live as friends and brothers, without internecine strife and severe hardships. It is only today, however, that the first stone has practically been laid in this direction."

The development of capitalism had failed to abolish ethnic oppression. On the contrary, ethnic oppression was supplemented and aggravated by colonial oppression. Having enslaved hundreds of millions of people, a handful of capitalist powers doomed them to a life of misery and barred their ways to progress.

Marxism revealed for the first time ever an organic link between the nationalities problem and the social, class nature of society, the prevailing type of ownership. In other words, the roots of relations between nations are embedded in the social soil. From here Marx and Engels drew their fundamental conclusion: the abolition of social

¹ Mikhail I. Kalinin (1875-1946), Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR from 1919, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR from 1938 to 1946. [Translator.]

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oppression is an indispensable prerequisite for the abolition of ethnic oppression. "... Victory of the proletariat over the *bourgeoisie*", Marx said, "is simultaneously a signal for the emancipation of all oppressed nations." The immortal slogan "Workers of the world unite!" proclaimed by the founders of Marxism has become a call for the working people's international struggle against all forms of enslavement, both social and ethnic.

In a new historical situation the cause of Marx and Engels was continued by Lenin. He took the lead in the revolutionary movement when the first lightnings of revolution flashed over Russia. In the country which was rightly called a "prison of nations" the nationalities problem was given high priority in the strategy and tactics planned by the Bolshevik Party.

Lenin focused his attention on the right of nations to self-determination as the sole dependable way of securing their real and firm *rapprochement*. It was only the right to self-determination that could be the ideological and political foundation for voluntary unity of all nations in the struggle to overthrow czarism, and to build a new society. That was how Lenin put this problem. That was the pivot of the Leninist Party's policy towards the nationalities problem.

The October Revolution placed political slogans and demands on the plane of daily organizing work. The realities of life, formidable economic, social, foreign policy and defence tasks, dictated the need for cohesion of nations, for a union of the Republics which had emerged from the ruins of the Russian Empire.

What looks obvious today was by no means so obvious in that stormy transitional period. The quests for concrete forms of statehood, for political institutions to embody the general ideas and prerequisites of a nationalities programme, aroused heated debates. Conflicting opinions ranged from a programme of loose, amorphous unification of the Republics in a confederation to a demand for their simple incorporation into the Russian Federation on the principle of autonomy. It took Lenin's genius and prestige to find and affirm the only correct path, that of socialist federalism.

What is the essence of the path indicated by Lenin? It may be briefly formulated as follows. This is an absolutely voluntary union of free nations as the guarantee of the maximum durability of a fede-

ration of socialist Republics. This is the complete equality of all nations, large and small, a consistent policy of abolishing not only their legal but also their actual inequality. This is the free development of each Republic, each nationality within the framework of their fraternal union. This is persistent cultivation of internationalist consciousness and steady efforts to bring all nations and national minorities of this country closer together.

In the year when the Soviet Union was formed Lenin wrote what vividly illustrated the course of his reflection on the nationalities problem. "Our experience of five years in solving the nationalities problem in a state containing such a multitude of nationalities as can be hardly found in other countries has strongly convinced us that the only correct attitude to the interests of nations in such cases would be to meet them to a maximum and to provide conditions that would rule out any possibility of conflicts on these grounds. Our experience [Lenin went on] has made us absolutely confident that only enormous attention to the interests of different nations removes the ground for conflicts, removes mutual distrust, removes apprehensions of any intrigues, creates trust, particularly among the workers and peasants speaking different languages, without which neither peaceful relations between peoples nor any successful development of all that is valuable in modern civilisation are absolutely impossible."

Lenin's behests, the Leninist principles of nationalities policy, are sacred to us. Relying on them and consistently implementing them in practice, we have built a powerful state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, whose formation was not only a long step in the progress of socialism but also a major turning-point in world history.

1. THE RESULTS OF SOVIET PROGRESS AND THE TASKS IN THE NATIONALITIES POLICY

The path traversed by the Soviet Union over the last sixty years is equivalent to a whole epoch. History perhaps has never known such a spectacular advance from a condition of backwardness, misery and ruin to the grandeur of a modern great power with highly advanced culture and steadily growing welfare of the people.

What are the most significant results of our development?

—The historical correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory to the effect that a solution to the nationalities problem can be found only on a class foundation has been fully confirmed. Ethnic discord, all kinds of racial and national inequality and oppression, have become a thing of the past along with the social antagonisms.

—It has been proved conclusively that the Communist Party with its scientifically planned policy is the leading and guiding force in the socialist solution of the nationalities problem, the guarantor of a correct solution.

—The backward ethnic provinces where feudal-patriarchal and even tribal relations often prevailed have ceased to exist.

—An integrated all Union national economic complex has formed on the basis of the dynamic economic growth of all the Republics according to a general state plan.

—The social structure in the Republics has changed qualitatively; in each of them there has emerged a modern working class, the peasants are following the new path of collective farming, a new intelligentsia has been raised, highly-qualified personnel have been trained in all areas of government and public activities.

—Multinational socialist culture has reached a flourishing stage on the basis of progressive traditions, an intensive exchange of cultural values.

—The socialist nations have matured and now they make up a new historical community of men—the Soviet people.

The interests of the Republics are being interlocked ever more closely, their mutual assistance and mutual ties directing the constructive efforts of Soviet nations and national minorities into a common channel are becoming ever more fruitful. The all-round development of each of the socialist nations in this country naturally results in their steadily increasing consolidation.

Each of the Union Republics—the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Byelorussia, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, Georgia and Azerbaijan, Lithuania and Moldavia, Latvia and Kirghizia, Tadzhikistan and Armenia, Turkmenia and Estonia—each, I emphasize this, of the Union Republics makes an indispensable contribution to the

general advancement of the Soviet Union's economy and culture. This is not simply an arithmetic sum total but a multiple increase in our creative potentials.

All nations and national minorities living in the twenty autonomous Republics and eighteen autonomous regions and districts as one friendly family successfully bring their potentialities into play. Millions of Germans, Poles, Koreans, Kurds and members of other nationalities are fully-fledged Soviet citizens for whom the Soviet Union has long been their homeland.

The peoples of this country feel especially warm gratitude to the Russian people. Without its selfless fraternal assistance the present achievements of any of the Republics would have been impossible. A factor of exceptional significance in the economic, political and cultural life of this country, in promoting the unity of all its nations and national minorities, in giving them access to the wealth of world civilization, is the Russian language, which has naturally become part and parcel of the life of millions of people of any nationality.

The new Constitution of the USSR has been a major milestone in consolidating the national state foundations of Soviet society. This outstanding document has not only summed up the results of earlier development but has also formulated the strong and stable political and legal foundations for the continued prosperity and consolidation of all nations of this country, both large and small.

The real qualitative changes which have taken place in relations between nations over the last sixty years is evidence that the nationalities problem in the form we inherited from the exploiter system has been successfully resolved finally and irreversibly. For the first time in history the multinational composition of a country's population has turned from a source of its weakness into a source of its strength and prosperity.

Speaking in this hall exactly ten years ago, Leonid Brezhnev described this very well in the following words: "In this country. . . there have developed relations without precedent in history which we rightly call the Leninist friendship of nations. This friendship is our invaluable property, one of the most significant achievements of socialism cherished by every Soviet citizen. We Soviet people will always cherish this friendship as the apple of our eye."

On this red-letter day we pay tribute to many generations of Soviet

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people of all nationalities, men and women, workers and peasants, the intelligentsia, Party and government workers, servicemen of the Armed Forces, communists and unaffiliated people—all those who have built socialism, defended it in the most difficult war and translated the thousand-year-old dream of equality, friendship and brotherhood of nations into reality.

Reviewing the results of our efforts we naturally focus our attention on what still remains to be done, our ultimate goal is clear. This is, to use Lenin's words, "not only *rapprochement* between nations but their integration". The Party is well aware of the fact that the road to this goal is a long one. Here one should by no means forestall events, nor should one hold back processes which have come to a head.

Success in solving the nationalities problem does not mean at all that all problems generated by the very fact that numerous nations and national minorities live and work within the framework of a union state have been settled. This is hardly possible as long as nations and national distinctions exist. And they will survive for a long time, much longer than class distinctions will do.

This is why the efforts to perfect developed socialism—and this is precisely how we can define the main content of the activity of the Party and people at the present stage—must include a thoroughly planned nationalities policy based on scientific principles. I would like to dwell upon some of its tasks.

I have already mentioned what enormous benefits and advantages the people of this country, its Republics, have gained from their association in a single union. However, the opportunities offered by such association are far from being exhausted.

Let us take the economy. Modern productive forces demand integration even when it is a matter of different countries. All the more so, they demand close and skilful integration of efforts of different regions and Republics within the confines of one country. The most rational use of the natural and manpower resources, the climatic distinctions of each of the Republics, the most rational inclusion of this potential into that of the whole Union—this is what will yield the greatest benefits to every region, every nation and national minority, just as the country as a whole.

This is our position of principle. Our central and local planning and

economic executive bodies will have to put in a good deal of work to carry it into effect. It will be necessary to continue improving the distribution of productive forces, regional specialization and co-operation, the schemes of economic ties and transportation. This task, of course, is not a simple one, but it is a pressing task, and its fulfilment holds out considerable advantages.

This whole country is now working to implement the Food Programme, which has clearly defined the concrete tasks facing all the Union Republics. Each of them will have to put forth substantial efforts to make a tangible contribution, and in the immediate future at that, to the all-important cause of securing uninterrupted food supplies to Soviet consumers.

As is known, the Food Programme refers to pressing tasks of first priority. Casting a look in perspective, however, one will certainly see that the continued development of our agro-industrial complex, just as the national economy as a whole for that matter, will require more detailed and consistent specialization of agriculture on a nationwide scale.

There is yet another question. In a country so vast as ours a role of crucial significance is played by the transport services, which is an economic, political and, if you like, psychological role.

Without smoothly functioning transport services it is very difficult to ensure both the accelerated development of all the Republics and the further deepening of their economic co-operation. The transport services, however, are crucial not only to the fulfilment of strictly economic tasks. The development of the transport services and the road network brings villages closer to towns and will largely contribute, for instance, to permanent settlement of specialist manpower on the land. This will, of course, also help accomplish the great social task of securing rational and flexible use of manpower resources. Maintaining daily contacts between people throughout the Soviet Union, current ties between all Republics and regions of the country, the transport services help bring the achievements of socialist civilization in the broadest sense of the word within reach of all Soviet citizens.

Their association in a union has become one of the additional sources of not only the material but also the cultural wealth of the

Soviet people. In are being utilized means of work me enrichment of cu broader access to Soviet nation. R course, other mas part in this noble

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Soviet people. In this area too, however, far from all opportunities are being utilized so far. It is mandatory to search for new ways and means of work meeting today's requirements and making the mutual enrichment of cultures still more fruitful, giving all citizens still broader access to the finest achievements of the culture of each Soviet nation. Radio and television broadcasting services, as, of course, other mass media, are called upon to play a steadily growing part in this noble work.

It should be borne in mind at the same time that the cultural heritage, traditions and customs of each nation contain not only what is good but also what is bad and outdated. Hence another task: not to conserve what is bad but to get rid of all that is obsolete, what runs counter to the principles of Soviet society, socialist morals, our communist ideals.

The realities of life show that the economic and cultural progress of all nations, large and small, is inevitably accompanied by the growth of their national self-awareness. This is a legitimate, objective process. It is important, however, that a nation's natural pride in its achievements should not turn into national arrogance or conceit, generate trends towards self-isolation, a disrespectful attitude to other nations and national minorities. Negative phenomena of this kind, however, are occasionally in evidence, and it would be wrong to attribute them to survivals of the past alone. They are nourished at times by our own errors in work as well. In this area there are no trifles, but everything is important: the attitude to language, to relics of the past, the interpretation of historical events, and the way we transform villages and towns, influencing the working and living conditions of their residents.

As a result of natural population migration each of our Republics tends to become even more multinational. This also holds true, to a varying extent, of every region and every city. This means that the Party and government bodies, all our local cadres, have an increasing role to play as vehicles of the Party's nationalities policy. Moreover, they have to carry the lofty principles of this policy into effect every day, promoting harmonious, brotherly relations between members of all nations, large and small, in work and in everyday life.

The Party has invariably paid enormous attention to the growth of

the ethnic contingents of the Soviet working class, the leading force in our society. The results are here for all to see. Today the workers constitute the largest social group in all the Union Republics. However, in some of them the indigenous nationality should be more fully represented in the composition of the working class. Hence the task set by the 26th Congress of the CPSU: to widen and improve the training of skilled workers from among all nations and national minorities living in the Republics. This is dictated by the need for economic development. This is also important politically. The multinational labour collectives, of workers first and foremost, are precisely the milieu where the spirit of internationalism is cultivated best of all, and the brotherhood and friendship of Soviet nations are strengthened the most.

Another highly important question is one of representation of working people in the Party and government bodies of the Republics and the Union as a whole. This is not, of course, a matter of some formal representation quotas. An arithmetic approach to the solution of such problems would be irrelevant. However, it is necessary to work consistently for all nationalities existing in a given Republic to be duly represented in various Party and government echelons. Consideration of the moral and political qualities of personnel, attention and solicitude, great tact in their selection and placement are particularly indispensable in the conditions of the multinational Union and Autonomous Republics.

A permanent task of fundamental importance is education of all Soviet citizens in the spirit of mutual respect and friendship of all Soviet nations and national minorities, dedication to their great Soviet Motherland, internationalism and solidarity with the working people of foreign nations. This task is being fulfilled by all Party and YCL organizations, the Soviets and the trades unions, and our Armed Forces, which have always been a good school of internationalism. This should also be a matter of daily concern to all educational institutions of this country.

In the field of internationalist education, just as in all our ideological and mass-scale political work, we are confronted by immense tasks. A persuasive, concrete demonstration of our achievements, a profound analysis of new problems constantly generated by life,

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freshness of thought and word—such is the way to improve all our propaganda which should be more truthful and realistic, as well as interesting and understandable and hence more effective.

The continued development of friendship and co-operation among Soviet nations largely depends on efforts to deepen socialist democracy. The steadily widening involvement of the working people of all nationalities in the management of the affairs of society and state—such is the most condensed definition of the leading tendency in Soviet political life. The Party will do its utmost to make it grow stronger and develop.

It follows from the aforesaid that in mature socialist society the problems of relations between nations remain the order of the day. They demand special concern and constant attention from the Communist Party. The Party must thoroughly analyse them, outline ways of solving them, creatively enriching the Leninist principles of the nationalities policy with the practical experience of developed socialism.

We boldly speak of existing problems and outstanding tasks because we are firmly confident that we can measure up to these problems and tasks, that we can and must solve them. Determined action rather than loud words—this is what we need today to make the great and powerful Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stronger still. I am confident that all those present in this audience, all our Party and the entire Soviet people, think as much.

2. THE USSR: THE BULWARK OF THE GREAT CAUSE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM OF NATIONS

On the very same day, 30 December 1922, that the Declaration and Treaty of the Formation of the USSR were adopted in Moscow the Soviet delegation at the Lausanne Conference declared on Lenin's instructions that the Soviet Republics guided as they were by the interests of universal peace deemed it "their imperative duty . . . to contribute with all their forces to establishing a régime of political equality between races, respect for the right of nations to self-

determination and to complete political and economic independence of all states."

That was a simple and clear expression of the essence of the fundamentally new foreign policy that the world's first socialist country had started to pursue consistently on the international scene.

As new socialist countries came into being, international relations of a perfectly new type began to take shape. They are based on ideological unity, common goals, comradely co-operation—with complete respect for the interests, distinctions and traditions of each of these countries. They are based on the principle of socialist internationalism.

In developing these relations the socialist countries walked untrodden paths. Mankind's past experience could not suggest the answers to problems posed by the realities of life. Naturally, not everything went off without a hitch in this field. It will be recalled that the countries which formed the world socialist system had started off from largely different initial positions—both in levels of their internal development and in the external conditions of their existence. It was not always possible to draw timely conclusions from changes in the socialist world itself. Besides, the international situation left no time for reflection: new forms of relations had to be tested by trial and error. There were illusions which had to be overcome and errors which had to be paid for.

However, reviewing today's life in our countries we have good reason to say with satisfaction that we have learned a great deal, and that the community of socialist nations is a strong and healthy organism which plays an enormously beneficial role in the modern world. The mechanism of fraternal co-operation operates in the most diverse spheres of life in our countries and in different directions of our interaction in the cause of socialist construction. We discover by joint efforts ever more effective ways of harmonizing the common interests of the community with the interests of each of its member nations.

Of course, we cannot say yet that all our difficulties have been overcome, and we have attained an ideal. What satisfied us yesterday needs improvement today. The countries of our community are confronted with many serious tasks. These are the defence of our socialist achievements and values against the onslaught of imperialism, our

joint struggle for lasting peace and a relaxation of tension, the continued perfection of political co-operation and, finally, lending added momentum to the process of economic integration.

Thus, there is a lot of work to be done. I wish to assure our friends that the Soviet Union for its part will do all in its power to ensure the consolidation and prosperity of the world socialist system.

The experience in the socialist solution of the nationalities problem is being thoroughly analysed in scores of countries which have thrown off the colonial yoke. Our successes in socialist construction, our victory over fascism, the flourishing of all nations and national minorities in the Soviet Union, have given a powerful impetus to the liberation struggle of the peoples.

The Soviet Union's active and determined struggle for the abolition of colonialism, its unfailing support for the cause of liberation and equality of nations, facilitate their advance towards freedom and progress. This is well known to the peoples of Asia and Africa, the Arab East and Latin America.

The young states which have freed themselves from colonial oppression are now going through what is not a simple period of national revival and social development. They are handicapped by backwardness inherited from their colonial past, internecine discord and conflicts. Countries which have not yet found their feet are threatened by numerous traps laid by the neo-colonialists. We are confident, however, that resolute resistance to imperialism, a well-planned strategy of economic and sociopolitical development, mutual respect for each other's interests and rights, will enable the peoples of these countries to overcome what is known as difficulties of growth. The Soviet people wish them great success in strengthening their independence, in their struggle for welfare and progress.

We regard with respect the nonaligned movement, whose policy of peace has a beneficial influence on international affairs. We resolutely and invariably take sides with those who have to fight today for the freedom and independence and the very existence of their peoples, who are forced to repel the onslaught of an aggressor or are threatened with aggression. This stand of ours is closely bound up with the struggle for lasting peace on earth that the Soviet Union is waging consistently and indefatigably.

During the last six decades the Soviet Union's position has radically changed, and its prestige and influence have grown immeasurably. Strong ties of peaceful co-operation link the Soviet Union with countries on all continents. Its voice commands general attention at international forums. The principles of peaceful coexistence, which are the basis for Soviet foreign policy, have won broad international recognition and have been incorporated into dozens of international documents, the Final Act of the All-European Conference at Helsinki in particular, and Soviet proposals have been adopted as the basis for the most important UN resolutions on the problems of promoting peace and security.

Every step in the direction of stronger peace, however, has taken and takes effort, demanding tense struggle against the imperialist "hawks". It has become especially bitter today when the most warlike groups in the West have markedly stepped up their activity. Their class hatred of socialism prevails over their sense of reality and often simply defies common sense.

The imperialists have not yet abandoned their plans of economic war against the socialist countries, of interfering in their internal affairs, hoping to undermine their social system, and seeking to achieve military superiority over the USSR and the entire socialist community of nations.

These plans, of course, are doomed to failure. Nobody will be able to reverse the trend of historical development. Attempts "to strangle" socialism proved to no avail even at the time when the Soviet Republic was still in its infancy and was the only socialist country in the world. That such attempts will come to nothing is all the more obvious today.

One cannot fail to see, however, that Washington's current policy has brought international tensions to an extremely high pitch.

The war preparations of the United States and the NATO alliance it leads have grown to an all-time high, assuming a scope without precedence in history. High-ranking officials in Washington are publicly discussing the possibility of waging "limited", "protracted" and other varieties of nuclear war. They are seeking to reassure people, to inure them to the idea of its acceptability. Indeed, one must be totally blind to the realities of our time to fail to realize that no matter

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how and where a nuclear conflict may break out it will inevitably get out of hand and grow into general catastrophe.

Our stand on this issue is clear: no nuclear war, either minor or major, limited or total, must be allowed. To stop the instigators of another war—no task is more important today. This is demanded by the vital interests of all nations. Therefore, the Soviet Union's unilateral commitment to refrain from first use of nuclear weapons was received with approval and hope throughout the world. If other nuclear powers follow our example, this will be a truly tangible contribution to the cause of preventing nuclear war.

It is alleged that the West cannot assume such a commitment because the Warsaw Treaty powers have superiority in conventional arms. First of all, this is not true, as is evidenced by facts and figures. Besides, as is known, we are in favour of limiting such armaments and of searching for reasonable mutually acceptable decisions on these problems as well. We are prepared to reach agreement to the effect that the two sides should refrain from first use of both nuclear and conventional armaments.

One of the main roads leading to a real lessening of the danger of nuclear war is, of course, the achievement of agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear arms. We approach negotiations on this issue, being fully aware of our responsibility, and we are seeking a fair deal which will not be prejudicial to any side and at the same time will result in a reduction of their nuclear arsenals.

Unfortunately, we are witnessing a different approach from the American side for the time being. Paying lip-service to "radical reductions", it has in mind as a matter of fact mainly a reduction of the Soviet strategic potential. The United States would like to have a free hand left for itself to build up strategic armaments. It is absurd even to suppose that we shall agree to this. All this would, of course, satisfy the Pentagon, but can by no means be acceptable to the Soviet Union as indeed to all those who desire peace to be preserved and strengthened.

Take a look at the Soviet proposals for comparison. They proceed from the maintenance of parity. We are prepared to reduce our strategic arms by more than 25 per cent. The US armaments should

be reduced correspondingly, so that the numbers of strategic arms delivery vehicles in possession of either state could be equal. We have also proposed a substantial reduction in the number of nuclear charges and a maximum limitation on improvement of nuclear weapons.

Our proposals apply to all types of strategic arms without exception, and envisage a reduction of their arsenals by many hundreds of units. They are meant to stop all possible channels for a further arms race in this field. But this would only be a beginning: agreement on the aforesaid basis would be the starting-point for an even greater mutual reduction of the numbers of such armaments, on which the two sides could agree, taking account of the general strategic situation.

While negotiations are in progress we propose what is suggested by common sense: to freeze the strategic arsenals of both sides. The US Administration is opposed to this step for a reason which is now clear to all: it has started out on a new significant nuclear arms build-up.

Washington's arguments attempting to justify this build-up obviously do not hold water. Allegations concerning a "lag" behind the USSR which the Americans have to catch up with are deliberate falsehoods, as has more than once been pointed out before. And arguments to the effect that new weapons systems, such as the "MX" missile, for instance, are needed to "help progress in disarmament talks" are simply ludicrous.

Programme of continued arms build-up will not force the Soviet Union to make unilateral concessions. We shall be forced to meet the challenge from the American side by deploying appropriate weapons systems of our own: respond to "MX" with a similar missile, and oppose the American long-range cruise missile with our own long-range cruise missile, which is already undergoing field tests.

These are not threats at all. We do not desire events to develop in this direction, and we are doing our level best to avoid it. It is necessary, however, that the US policy-makers and the public at large should clearly realize the actual state of affairs. If it is really believed in Washington that new weapons systems could be an American "trump-card" at negotiations, let them know that these will be fake "trump-cards". A policy motivated by an ambition to achieve

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military superiority over the Soviet Union is hopeless and only capable of aggravating the danger of war.

Now a few words about what is known as "confidence-building measures". We take a serious view of them.

With the great speed and power of modern weapons an atmosphere of mutual suspicion is highly dangerous. Even an absurd accident, miscalculation, or technical trouble may have tragic consequences. It is mandatory, therefore, to take one's finger off the trigger and set one's weapons to a safety-catch. Some steps are being taken in this direction, within the framework of the Helsinki accords in particular. The Soviet Union has proposed, as is known, measures that are more serious in character and wider in scope. Our proposals to this effect are on the agenda of the Soviet-American talks at Geneva on the limitation and reduction of nuclear arms.

We are also prepared to examine proposals in this field put forward by others, in particular the recent proposals of the US President. The measures he referred to alone, however, will not dispel the atmosphere of mutual suspicions, nor will they restore trust; something more is necessary: a normalization of the situation, renunciation of propaganda of hostility and hatred, and of nuclear war. And, of course, the high road towards trust and the prevention of nuclear war, including war that may break out by accident, is an end to the arms race, resumption of normal courteous relations between states, a return to *détente*.

We consider this important for all regions of our planet. But especially for Europe, where any spark may set off a worldwide conflagration.

Now this continent is exposed to another danger: the plans to deploy a few hundred American missiles in Western Europe. I must say frankly: this would make peace even more precarious.

We believe that the danger overhanging the European nations and the nations of the whole world for that matter can be averted. Peace in Europe can well be saved and strengthened, and without prejudice to the security of any side at that. It is precisely with this aim in view that we have been negotiating with the United States at Geneva for over a year a limitation and reduction of nuclear arms in the zone of Europe.

The Soviet Union is prepared to go very far. As is known, we have proposed an agreement on renunciation of all kinds of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical ones, aimed at targets in Europe. This initiative, however, fell on deaf ears. Evidently, they are unwilling to accept it, but are careful not to reject it openly. I wish to emphasize again that this proposal of ours holds good.

We have proposed another option: the USSR and the NATO powers should reduce their medium-range armaments by more than two-thirds. So far the United States is opposed to it. For its part it has come forward with a proposal called a "zero option". It provides for the dismantling of all Soviet medium-range missiles not only in the European but also in the Asiatic part of the USSR, with NATO's nuclear missile arsenal in Europe being retained and even increased. Can it really be true that somebody seriously expects the Soviet Union to agree to this? It seems that Washington would like to thwart an agreement to be able to refer to the failure of negotiations and deploy American missiles on European soil one way or another.

The future will show if this is true or not. As far as we are concerned, we will continue our efforts to reach an agreement on a basis equitable to both sides. We are prepared, in particular, to come to an arrangement whereby the Soviet Union shall retain in Europe only as many missiles as Britain and France have, and not a single missile more. This means that the Soviet Union would dismantle hundreds of missiles, including a few dozen of the most advanced missiles known in the West as SS-20. As regards the Soviet-American issue of medium-range missiles, this would be a truly fair "zero option". Moreover, if the number of British and French missiles were subsequently reduced, the number of Soviet missiles would additionally be reduced by the same percentage.

Simultaneously, agreement should also be reached on a reduction to equal levels on both sides of the number of medium-range nuclear weapons-carrying aircraft available in the relevant region both to the USSR and to the NATO countries.

We appeal to our partners to agree to this clear and fair arrangement, to take advantage of this opportunity while it is still there. We wish, however, that nobody should delude himself; we will never allow our own security and the security of our allies to be put in

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jeopardy. One would also be wise to consider the disastrous effect the deployment of new American medium-range weapons in Europe would have on all further efforts to limit nuclear arms in general. In short, the answer rests with the United States.

In conclusion I wish to say this: we are in favour of broad and fruitful co-operation, free from dictation and interference in the internal affairs of others, between all nations on our planet to their mutual advantage and for the benefit of all mankind. The Soviet Union will do all in its power to secure a tranquil and peaceful future for the living and succeeding generations. This is the goal of our policy, and we are determined to pursue it.

* * *

Reviewing the path traversed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics over the last sixty years we can clearly see that all our achievements and victories are linked inseparably with the activities of the Leninist Party of communists. It is the Party that has been and remains the powerful creative and mobilizing force that ensures our continuous advance in all directions of social progress.

As regards its ideology, composition and structure, our Party is the living embodiment of the unity and cohesion of all Soviet nations, large and small. Aiming its policy at securing harmony between national and international interests, the Party creates the social conditions in which the flourishing and all-round development of each nation are a prerequisite for the advancement and prosperity of our entire fraternal union.

When we say "The people and the Party are united!" we acknowledge the indisputable fact that the aims and tasks pursued by the Party accurately express the aspirations and requirements of all Soviet citizens. By their practical work the multimillion Soviet people are translating the Party policy into reality. One of the most striking testimonies to this is the splendid record of achievement with which all our Republics are honouring the present jubilee.

Allow me to convey our profound gratitude to the millions of front-ranking production workers who have fulfilled or overfulfilled their socialist commitments assumed in honour of the 60th anniversary of the USSR.

Allow me to extend our warm congratulations on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR to all Soviet citizens on the occasion of this red-letter day, the 60th birthday of our great Union.

Long live the friendship of nations building communism!

Long live proletarian, socialist internationalism!

Long live peace throughout the world!

May the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics flourish!

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¹ V. I. Lenin, C

Leninism Illumines Our Path

Report at the anniversary meeting in Moscow commemorating Lenin's 94th birthday, 22 April 1964

Comrades!

As we are celebrating Lenin's 94th birthday today, we again cast our mind's eye to the image of the great man, whose ideas and deeds shook the old world to its foundations and illumined the path into the future before mankind.

Lenin's lifetime exploits are an inspiring example to all fighters for the working-class cause, for the triumph of communism. Lenin was a brilliant exponent of the aspirations and ideals, indomitable energy and dynamism of the communist movement of our great epoch. Lenin devoted his whole life as a fighter and thinker to a titanic task—the struggle for victory of the proletarian revolution, the building of a society without the exploitation of man by man and war, without poverty and ethnic oppression.

Lenin is immortal, because his ideas and deeds will live forever. He lives on in the accomplishments of socialism and communism, in the revolutionary struggle of the working people throughout the world.

Our successes are the most eloquent and convincing evidence of the vitality of Lenin's ideas. "We raise aloft our Marxist torch", Lenin wrote in his time about the Russian Bolsheviks, "and from every step of individual classes, from every political and economic event we draw practical evidence to show the truth of our doctrine."¹

Leninism gives clear answers to questions concerning the most vital interests and aspirations of the peoples. The working people cherish Lenin's ideas, which show them the right way to follow in the struggle

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 13, pp. 163–164.

for a better life. This is the main clue to the powerful influence of Leninism on mankind's historical destiny.

THE EVERLASTING DOCTRINE OF THE COMMUNISTS OF ALL COUNTRIES

The communist movement has grown into the most influential force of today because it is invariably guided by Marxist-Leninist theory. The great wealth of Lenin's ideas has always helped us, as it does today, to find the right solution to the urgent problems of our struggle. We derive our strength from our loyalty to Leninism.

At every new stage in mankind's development, at every turn of history, the theory of scientific communism is enriched and supplemented with new ideas and conclusions and advanced to a higher level. This is quite logical, since Marxism-Leninism is by nature a steadily developing creative doctrine. Only those who have failed to understand this truth can deny the present generation of revolutionaries a right to independent thinking, scaring with the bogey of revisionism all those who are trying to come up with innovative ideas in Marxist-Leninist theory.

Lenin never sided with those who regarded our great teaching as a collection of dogmas, as something like a mathematics textbook with readymade formulas or a pharmacy manual with a choice of prescriptions. He was a bold innovator in theory and practice, firmly convinced that Marxist theory must be constantly developed. "We by no means regard Marx's theory as something finished and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the corner stones for a theory that socialists must advance further in all directions, if they want to keep pace with life", he writes.¹

The need for a bold, creative solution to the cardinal problems involved in the struggle for socialism has never been so acute as in the postwar years. Our time is one of unprecedented revolutionary changes in social life, a gigantic acceleration of social progress, rapid development of productive forces, science and technology. There is no country, people, or sphere of human activity which have not

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 4, p. 184.

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witnessed important changes during the last few decades. The struggle between two policy lines, two historical tendencies—the line of social progress, peace and construction, on the one hand, and the line of reaction, oppression and war, on the other—inexorably results in socialism winning from the old world one position after another on the historical scene. The prestige of capitalism, the capitalist way of development, is steadily declining. Seeking to preserve their rule, the imperialists are stockpiling weapons of mass destruction, resorting to intimidation and suppression of the masses, bribery and social demagoguery. However, they are unable to check the onward march of history, to stop the peoples' advance along the path of progress, the path of socialism and communism.

In our epoch mankind has accumulated vast experience of revolutionary transformations, which had to be analysed. The realities of life raised some burning questions, which had to be answered.

Soviet society has entered a new stage of progress; this posed the most fundamental theoretical and practical questions as to how to advance socialism and to build communism, what methods to use to involve the masses in this great work, what part the Party and state are to play under the new conditions. It is to the credit of the CPSU and its Leninist Central Committee that they gave clear answers to them.

The formation of the world socialist system, the development of the socialist community of nations, called for working out the principles of relations among them, of organizing their all-round cooperation, and of charting the ways of building up the world socialist economy. The Marxist-Leninist parties undertook to solve these pressing problems by joint efforts and answered them not only in theory but primarily in practice, seeking to consolidate the friendly family of socialist nations.

The emergence of nuclear missile arsenals faced mankind with the danger of wholesale destruction, and this demanded that communists come up with a practical programme of struggle to avert another world war and learn to combine the struggle for peace even more closely with the struggle for victory of socialism.

Important changes took place in the economy and sociopolitical life in the capitalist countries; this required supplementing the arsenal

of instruments of the class struggle with new methods, ways and means of struggle, working out new problems of the strategy and tactics of socialist revolution, new forms of involving the masses in the liberation movement. The communist parties of the capitalist countries mapped out a flexible and effective line of revolutionary struggle in the new situation.

Many innovations had to be introduced into Marxist-Leninist theory to bring it into line with the historic changes brought about in the world by the victorious national liberation revolutions in the vast continents of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The realities of life faced the peoples of the newly-independent countries with the problem of choosing the ways of further struggle for complete independence and social progress. The Marxist-Leninists offered their own solution to these problems to meet the interests of the peoples.

The Marxist-Leninist parties carried out great work to sum up the latest phenomena of modern world development. Taking account of the new alignment of forces in the world arena, they outlined the ways of struggle against imperialism, war, and reaction, for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism, and jointly mapped out the general line of the international communist movement. This work resulted in the Declaration of 1957, the Statement of 1960, and other remarkable documents of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. As acknowledged by the fraternal parties, the conclusions and decisions of the Soviet Communist Party congresses are of historic significance for the entire communist and liberation movement.

Marxism-Leninism is inconceivable without these achievements of creative thought, which develop the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin in close association with the present epoch and make them an effective instrument for remaking the modern world. Marxism-Leninism today includes not only the great heritage of the founders of communist doctrine but also the entire wealth of experience and theoretical activity of the Communist parties of the world, the experience of working-class struggle and the entire liberation movement.

This is a forceful expression of the international nature of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. It was not before the advent of Marxism-Leninism that a revolutionary theory was evolved, capable of uniting for joint action the peoples of different countries and different conti-

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nents, living under widely diverse conditions. Our scientific theory alone indicates the path towards the summits of progress for all nations.

Leninism has never shut itself up within the confines of one country, but absorbed the international experience of the working class and the liberation movement of the peoples. In view of the wide variety of the specific conditions in which the peoples wage a struggle for their liberation Marxist-Leninist theory holds that there are no, nor can there be, hard-and-fast rules applicable to any time or any situation. Leninism indisputably requires revolutionary theory to be adapted to the specific historical and national distinction of the relevant country.

At the same time, all attempts to emasculate Leninism by depriving it of its revolutionary content, to ignore the experience of the international working-class movement, to substitute for the revolutionary working-class teaching various theories expressing narrow-minded national and sometimes even frankly nationalistic ambitions, run counter to Leninism, to the interests of socialism. Vindicating the theoretical heritage of Marx and Engels, Lenin set a classical example of struggle against great power chauvinism and other varieties of nationalism, which, on the plea of defence of national interests, actually undermine the people's strength in the face of their true enemies.

The realities of life frustrate at every step attempts to confine Leninism to narrow national limits or to interpret the advance of the peoples towards socialism from dogmatic, sectarian positions. The Marxist-Leninists have always been known for their broad views, their realistic outlook on life, their ability to combine a consistent struggle for communist ideals with active support for all progressive movements.

In our day the force of attraction of Lenin's ideas has grown immeasurably. This is due primarily to the historic achievements of socialism, the advantages of the new system which are increasingly visible in the practical field. The masses are realizing more and more clearly that socialism is the wave of the future. They see in it a dependable way of solving the problems facing society, and this is clear now not only to the working class but also to broad sections of

other working people, the *petit bourgeoisie* of the Asian, African, and Latin American countries.

Many leaders of the national liberation movement reckon with this strong gravitation of the mass towards socialism and have come forward with slogans of struggle for socialist construction. Advancing these slogans, they take the road of far-reaching social reforms, whose implementation involves fairly great difficulties and many new problems. Small wonder, therefore, that they borrow more and more often from the experience of the socialist countries, from Lenin's ideas. This is a new trend in world development, one that is enthusiastically welcomed by all Marxist-Leninists. In the socialist aspirations of the masses we see the sign of the times.

The world communist movement has assumed unprecedented scope in our day. As our movement becomes more and more mature, we come to realize more clearly and thoroughly the profundity of Lenin's ideas, which are alien to both opportunistic amorphousness and sectarian narrow-mindedness. Our Party and the Marxist-Leninist parties of other countries may proudly say that they have proved their allegiance to Lenin's ideas not in word but in deed, and have raised aloft the banner of creative Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The CPSU is determined to bear this Leninist banner high in the future as well.

THE LENINIST CAUSE TRIUMPHS

Lenin has stated more than once that the most responsible and complicated task facing the working class is not destruction of the old order but construction. After the victory of the proletarian revolution the construction of a new socialist society becomes a practical matter for millions upon millions of people in the socialist countries. A true Leninist is not only a fighter against the old order but primarily the builder of a new world. The enthusiasm and genuine pleasure with which Lenin got down to practical work in construction immediately after the victory of the October Revolution is a matter of common knowledge. With his amazingly great powers of work and profound erudition in the most diverse fields of human endeavour Lenin master-minded all the initiatives of the young Soviet Republic. Whatever

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matter he might handle, he did his duty with truly Bolshevik dedication, confidence in success, and businesslike efficiency alien to dilettantism and visionary schemes. All his tireless activities and exuberant creativity were dedicated to the sole purpose of service of the working people. Communist humanism is the most salient trait of Lenin and Leninism.

Speaking of personalities who made history, one is prone to remember, in the first place, their public lives. Indeed, we speak of Lenin as a revolutionary, a thinker, and a political leader. Lenin, however, was not only an illustrious public figure. He was the "most humane of humans", as the poet Mayakovsky said.

Lenin was a charismatic man, always friendly and cheerful, sincere and kindhearted. All of these finest human traits were intrinsic to his character. He was fond of people and hated whatever ruined their lives. He was tough on enemies and traitors, but intolerant of vindictiveness and cruelty. Lenin's high-principledness never had anything in common with diehard bigotry. His broad outlook and ability for self-criticism—these inalienable features of a creative mind—made him an implacable enemy of narrow-minded dogmatism, arrogance and self-conceit. "As simple as truth"—that was how Lenin was viewed by revolutionary workers in Maxim Gorky's phrase. Gorky reminisced about Lenin as follows: "I admired his vigorous love of life and his bitter hatred of its injustices, and I was delighted by the youthful ardour he put into whatever he did."¹

This is how Lenin was seen by his associates. This is how he is remembered and will live on in the memory of future generations.

For Lenin, socialism was not an abstract idea or an end in itself. The purpose of socialism, as he saw it, was to "make the life of all working people as easy as possible, providing them with the sources of well-being".²

Highly-developed social production, creative work, genuine freedom and democracy, comprehensive culture, relations among individuals based on the principles of comradeship and brotherhood—such are the working-class ideas of a society which is to be built as its

¹ Maxim Gorky, *Collected Works*, Moscow, 1974, vol. 20, p. 31.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 36, p. 381.

supreme and ultimate destination. It is the ideal that Lenin expounded next to Marx and Engels.

Lenin vigorously opposed all attempts of the right-wing and left-wing opportunists to distort the ideals of socialism. He waged a relentless struggle against leftist elements and the Trotskyites, who reflected *petit bourgeois* ideology exaggerating the role of coercion, ignoring the positive, constructive tasks of the revolution, denying the people a right to aspire towards well-being and freedom, that is the main benefits for which the working people rise in rebellion. It was precisely because the Party, in keeping with Lenin's behests, concentrated on the practical tasks in socialist construction that the Soviet people have scored their historic successes of worldwide significance.

The Party has made an objective assessment of Stalin's role and contributions and is aware at the same time that in a number of important questions he committed violations of the Leninist principles of collective leadership and the norms of Party life. The 20th Party Congress not only denounced the personality cult but also restored the Leninist norms of life in the Party and state, created the requisite conditions for translating Lenin's ideals of socialism and communism into reality.

The Party has drawn up its new Programme, which is wholly based on the principle "everything in the name of man, for the benefit of man". The Party programme provision for the first-priority importance of building up the material and technological basis for communism organically embodies Lenin's idea of economic development and economic policy as crucial factors in the struggle for communism.

All practical activities of the Party and the Soviet people are wholly guided by this idea of Lenin's. We are proud to know that over the last decade *per capita* industrial output has grown 128 per cent in the Soviet Union, which compares favourably with 15 per cent in the United States.

Lenin's brilliant maxim "Communism is Soviet power plus country-wide electrification" is widely known. When he first declared it, Russia was eighteenth in the world's list of electric power producers. Today the Soviet Union is second and is swiftly moving up. In 1963 alone it commissioned more than 10 million kilowatts of new generat-

ing capacity. Taken together

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ing capacity. This is equivalent to almost seven GOELRO plans taken together.¹

Life, however, is never at a standstill. In our day the scientific and technological revolution is bringing to the foreground ever new trends of scientific and technological progress. The Party believes that under present conditions the most effective means of boosting economic growth is the application of the latest scientific and technological achievements, the all-round development of the chemical industry in particular.

While displaying constant, truly Leninist, concern for advancing the people's well-being, the Party is paying keen attention to the development of agriculture as one of the most complex problems of the theory and practice of socialist construction. Over the last decade collective and state farm production has made considerable progress. Nevertheless, not all of the problems have yet been resolved. The Party and the people are well aware of that. At its plenary meetings the CPSU Central Committee has worked out a number of practical measures to advance the standards of crop farming and stock farming, to implement consistently the principle of material incentives, to improve the management of agriculture. Today the Party has formulated the crucial task of intensifying agricultural production and transferring crop farming and stock farming onto an industrial basis resting on the latest achievements in science and technology. All this will make it possible to raise agriculture to a much higher level.

Our age is rightly called the space age. We are lawfully proud of the fact that the Soviet people have been pioneers in this most modern field of science and technology. The Soviet space achievements epitomize all progress of socialist industry, science, technology, and culture. The Soviet people could blaze the trail into outer space because they firmly stand on the ground, because socialism creates excellent conditions for progress of productive forces and advanced science.

Lenin has taught us that the basic prerequisite for success in socialist construction is the broad and comprehensive development of

¹ GOELRO, the Russian acronym for the first Soviet nationwide electrification programme of 1921 (Translator).

socialist democracy, the involvement of the mass of the people in the management of production and all public affairs, encouragement of their initiative and creativity. Democracy is not only one of the main goals of socialism important in itself; without democracy it is impossible to develop productive forces successfully and build the material and technological basis for a new society.

The transformation of the state of proletarian dictatorship into a state of the whole people and of the working-class party into a party of the whole people is striking evidence of the development of socialist democracy.

Powerful and irresistible in its progress, this country is confidently implementing the great Lenin's behests. It is a busy scene of tireless work and creative endeavour, the steady emergence and assertion of a new life and of a new man, the man of communist society. All of the world's working people admire our progress, regarding it as their own cause.

Our successes are so evident that they are not denied, even by our adversaries. They are worried by the capitalist world losing its contest against socialism, and they regard this fact as a direct threat to themselves. A group of Columbia University experts in the USA in a recent study on the prospects of economic competition between the United States and the Soviet Union wrote with concern about the US lag in rates of economic growth. They said that the United States might adopt an old Russian tradition dating back to the democratic institutions of Novgorod. When this famous trading city was in danger, one of its citizens rang the tocsin. Then the city's whole population assembled in the central square to decide what was to be done. Now the tocsin is sounding the alarm for the United States.

This is the turn matters have taken today. In the face of the growing power of socialism the imperialists have to ring the alarm. They are scared of our growth, which is another proof that we are following the right, Leninist, way.

It is for almost two decades that the ideas of Leninism have been translated into reality not just in one country but in a group of countries, which have formed the world socialist system. The very fact that socialism has spread beyond the limits of one country to vast areas in Europe and Asia, and its emergence in the Western hemis-

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phere, is a great triumph of Marxism-Leninism. Today the experience of socialist transformations includes not only the practices of the Soviet Union but also a large variety of ways and means of socialist construction in widely different countries.

As a true internationalist, Lenin eagerly desired the path of other nations to socialism to be easier than ours. He believed that the sacrifices made by Russia's proletariat, the difficulties it had to overcome in making the first breach in the chain of imperialist states, would make it easier for other peoples to embark on the path of building a new life.

It would be relevant to recall in this context Lenin's story about his discussion with a Polish communist, who said that the Polish revolutionaries would imaginatively use Soviet experience. "One of the finest comrades among the Polish communists" Lenin reminisced, "said in reply to my remark 'You will do differently': 'No. We will do the same but we will do it better than you did.' I had absolutely nothing to object to that argument. One must have a chance to fulfil this modest desire: to make Soviet power better than ours."¹

The Soviet people have shouldered their heavy task as pioneers of socialism and built the world's first socialist society. And they feel happy, as Lenin would, to see the peoples of other countries borrowing from our experience cope with the tasks of building a new society at less expense, following the Soviet people's path with relatively easier effort. The Soviet communists highly appreciate the remarkable contributions being made by the peoples of the fraternal countries to the international experience of the struggle for socialism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is consistently pursuing a policy of friendship with all the peoples of the world, a policy of brotherly alliance of the peoples which have taken the road towards socialism.

The Marxist-Leninists have never shut their eyes to the complexities involved in the emergence of socialism, which grows up not in a sterile test tube, figuratively speaking, but on a soil polluted by the domination of feudalism and capitalism for centuries. Our teachers harboured no illusions in this respect. Lenin writes that "the proletar-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 38, p. 162.

iat will not be made infallible and guaranteed against mistakes and weaknesses merely by accomplishing a social revolution".¹

Lenin saw a grave danger to the unity of socialist nations in the fact that the *petit bourgeoisie* taking part in socialist revolutions would invariably "introduce into the movement its prejudices, its reactionary phantasies, its weaknesses and mistakes". He predicted that socialism would "by no means immediately 'clean itself' of *petit bourgeois* slag".²

The realities of life have shown that the development of the world socialist system is really attended with certain difficulties involved in uprooting old traditions, the old mentality inherited from capitalism. It is also necessary to solve complicated problems involved in overcoming the economic backwardness of a number of countries which have taken the socialist road. All of these, however, are merely difficulties of growth, which can be effectively disposed of by joint efforts of the socialist countries.

It is impossible to abolish the historical law requiring all-round co-operation, organization and development of the brotherly alliance of the peoples which have taken the road of socialism. Mankind's advance towards socialism is a powerful mainstream, which can have only one bed—the unbreakable alliance of fraternal socialist nations.

TO FIGHT FOR UNITY IN THE LENINIST WAY

Lenin went down in the history of communism as the most consistent, dedicated and fervent fighter for cohesion of the revolutionary ranks of the proletariat, for unity of the world communist movement. He said more than once that unity would not come by itself, that it should be won and defended in a stubborn struggle against opportunists of every stripe, against *petit bourgeois* manifestations on the right and on the left.

"Every peculiar turn of history", Lenin writes, "causes certain changes in the form of *petit bourgeois* vacillations which are always in

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 30, p. 51.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

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evidence by the side of the proletariat and always find their way to a varying extent into the midst of the proletariat.

"*Petit bourgeois* reformism, that is grovelling before the *bourgeoisie* camouflaged with sweet-worded democratic and 'social'-democratic phrases and helpless wishes and *petit bourgeois* revolutionarism—awe-inspiring, inflated, and arrogant in word and a rattle-box of fragmentation, dispersion, and mindlessness in deed—such are the two 'trends' of these vacillations."¹

Lenin maintained that the methods of struggle for unity are determined by the prevailing conditions. The matter depends on what forces pose the grave danger to the unity of the world communism in a particular period and what situation takes shape as a result of their actions.

The last decade has been one of another peculiar turn of history, when forces criticizing and attacking the line of the Marxist-Leninist parties again stepped up their activities within the working-class movement.

Nevertheless, the Party is willing, as before, to search for ways of normalizing relations with the Communist Party of China on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the Declaration and Statement of the international meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow in 1957 and 1969 and for ways of improving relations between the USSR and the People's Republic of China at government level.

There have been allegations to the effect that the CPSU is seeking to "expel" China from the socialist camp. This is nonsense, of course. We are firmly confident that eventually the Soviet and Chinese communists will join forces and struggle for socialism and peace in the same ranks.

The great Chinese revolutionary and democrat Sun Yat-sen in a message to the Soviet Union the day before his death, on 11 March 1925, wrote: "Dear comrades, members of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I am dying from an incurable illness. My thoughts are now focused on you, on my Party, and on my country's future. . . ."

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 44, p. 101.

"Dear comrades, saying my farewells to you, I wish to express my cherished hope that a dawn will come soon. The time will come when the Soviet Union will welcome a powerful and free China as its best friend and ally, when the two countries will march forward hand in hand and achieve victory in the great battle for freedom of the world's oppressed nations."¹

These words expressed the Chinese people's innermost sentiments, their deep-rooted interest in friendship with the Soviet Union. There is not, nor can there be, any justification for those who, in defiance of the vital interests of People's China, are pursuing a policy undermining the mainstays of Sino-Soviet friendship, whose significance is realized, as before, by all progressive people in China.

We will continue to work for strengthening Sino-Soviet friendship on the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism.

We are firmly convinced that the unity of the communist movement will be consolidated. Under present conditions, however, consolidation of this unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism demands the most determined and consistent struggle of all communists, all who cherish the interests of our great cause against the dangerous policy and divisive activities of China's leaders.

This is demanded by the interests of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for peace, democracy, national liberation, and socialism.

Our Party, as in the past, will spare no efforts to unite all revolutionary anti-imperialist forces pursuing these objectives.

* * *

It has become a tradition in commemorating Lenin's birthday not only to pay a tribute of respect and affection to our great countryman, the acknowledged leader of the world's working people, but also to verify in accordance with Lenin's principles the correctness of our path and our policy. Our Party and the whole Soviet people can stand the test of responsibility to Lenin's sacred memories with clear conscience and an open heart. We are confidently following the path

¹ Sun Yat-sen, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1964, pp. 556-557.

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We are confronted by formidable and complicated tasks demanding all our energy, initiative and daring creative quests. The Soviet people led by the Leninist Party will accomplish these tasks honourably.

The Party is gaining new successes in building a new society, strengthening the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties, and scoring ever new achievements in implementing practically the general line of our movement, in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union raised by Lenin, the militant vanguard of the Soviet people building communism!

May the unity and cohesion of the international communist movement, all revolutionary forces of today, grow stronger!

Long live Leninism!

Proletarian Internationalism: the Fighting Banner of Communists

**Excerpt from a report at the Berlin
International Scientific Session in
commemoration of the centenary of the
First International, 26 September 1964**

THE significance of some historic events extends far beyond the limits of their time and influences all world development. One such event, which had truly worldwide historic repercussions, was the founding of the First International—the International Workingmen's Association—the centenary of which is being celebrated by all progressive mankind today.

In those distant September days few people took notice of the modest meeting in St. Martin's Hall in London. Few realized at the time that the main citadel of capitalism was the mustering ground for a force that was destined to destroy to its foundations the world of capitalist exploitation and to build a new socialist society in which labour would reign supreme and peace and friendship of nations would be a guiding international principle.

"The First International", Lenin writes, "set the stage for proletarian, international struggle for socialism."¹ A century has passed since then. A broad and powerful movement has grown up on this foundation, for which the cornerstone was laid by Marx and Engels. This movement has become the most influential and massive force of today.

The constituent assembly of the First International was attended by a few hundred delegates from only six countries of Europe. Today

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 38, p. 303.

the world's ninety Communist and Workers' parties operating in all continents have a total membership of forty-three million.

Over the last 100 years Marxism has rallied under its banner hundreds of millions of working people.

Under this victorious banner more than one-third of mankind have freed themselves from exploitation and social oppression and are successfully building a new life.

Almost two thousand million people have shattered the fetters of colonial slavery and won independence.

Today when the world is witnessing the spectacular achievements of communism we again and again cast our mind's eye on the genius of Marx and Engels, the founders of our internationalist doctrine, whose exploits will live on in the centuries to come.

The communists are celebrating the centenary of the First International not only to pay tribute to the splendid record of the past. Our prime motive for such commemoration is to review again the vital problems of the world liberation movement and learn from the historic experience of revolutionary struggle the best ways of fulfilling the tasks of today.

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND THE COMMUNIST STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL INTERESTS

Proletarian internationalism is not an abstract doctrine. It has been called into being by the realities of life, the most vital, immediate requirements of the class struggle as an inalienable part of the working-class ideology.

The idea of proletarian internationalism expresses not only the communist views on relations between the working classes of all countries in the struggle against the capitalist system, but also the communist ideas of future society, of relations among different nations building socialism and communism. Marxism-Leninism is the doctrine of socialist revolution and building a new society in all countries of the world. Its founders naturally proceeded from the assumption that under communism relations among nations must be based on a totally new foundation: the principles upheld by the

working class, the most progressive class in modern society.

The identical position and interests of the workers in all countries, their common ultimate goals, dictate the need for fraternal solidarity in opposition to their common class enemy—the international *bourgeoisie*. At the same time, the class struggle is waged in the concrete situation prevailing in a given country and hence inevitably takes national form and, as shown by experience, no proletarian party can ignore this fact, if it is willing to wield serious influence within the masses.

Proletarian internationalism is the fundamental principle of Marxist-Leninist ideology, which serves to unite the efforts of the national contingents of the working class and is a dependable guarantee against manifestations of national narrow-mindedness within the labour movement. International solidarity of the working class is an indispensable prerequisite for its victory. This is precisely the way Marx viewed this question in the "Constituent Manifesto" of the First International. "Past experience has shown", he writes, "that a scornful attitude to brotherhood which must exist between the workers of different countries and induce them to stand up staunchly for each other in their liberation struggle incurs a general defeat of their uncoordinated efforts."¹

For the Marxist-Leninists, proletarian internationalism has always been and remains the guiding principle, the foundation of fraternal relations among the Communist parties and the socialist countries.

In our day proletarian internationalism has assumed a new dimension. First, the sphere of its action has markedly widened. Today proletarian internationalism is becoming the banner of revolutionary struggle not only of the working class but also of the multi-millioned mass of the working people, the oppressed nations of the whole world. It implies solidarity of all revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces, the world socialist community of nations, the working-class and democratic movement in the developed capitalist countries, the national liberation movement. This international solidarity embodies the Leninist slogan "Workers of the world and oppressed nations, unite!"

¹ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Works*, vol. 16, pp. 10-11.

Second, greater tasks are now confronting the communists and all forces loyal to the banner of internationalism. In the present situation proletarian internationalism implies united action in the struggle for consolidation and development of the socialist community of nations, for victory of proletarian revolution, for the national and social liberation of the oppressed peoples, for peace, democracy, and socialism throughout the world.

Unity of all revolutionary forces is a dictate of the times. It is indispensable for accomplishing the great tasks facing mankind in our day and the tasks confronting every national contingent of the working-class movement. Delivery of mankind from the danger of nuclear holocaust, complete liberation of nations from the danger of colonial dependence and their advance along the path of social progress, struggle for the triumph of socialism—all these tasks imperatively demand solidarity of the working class, unity of all working people and the oppressed nations.

One of the most salient characteristics of the present epoch is the fact that the transition to socialism is concurrent with the collapse of the colonial system, with the national liberation movement of the peoples making up two-thirds of humanity. This, of course, is not a chance coincidence. The revolutionary movement of the proletariat that has lent a powerful momentum to the struggle of the oppressed nations and the victories of the working class have laid the groundwork for success in this struggle.

It is indisputable that in our day the national factor has grown in both ideology and politics into an important force, which the communists cannot ignore. Our opponents have even started to allege that nationalism is destined to become a dam that will obstruct the further advance of communism.

These expectations of the anti-communists, however, are not bound to come true. An in-depth analysis of the social processes in our day leads one to conclude that the national factors operate by no means to the detriments of communism or in opposition to the ideas of international solidarity.

What processes dictate the need for consideration of the national factors in ideology and politics? These are primarily the disintegration of colonialism, the emergence and development of scores

of newly-independent states formerly oppressed by imperialism. These are, further, the upsurge of national sentiments in independent capitalist countries more advanced economically, whose sovereignty is threatened by large imperialist predators. These are, finally, the processes involved in the advancement and development of socialist nations, the consolidation of the independence and sovereignty of socialist countries.

All these are not only national but also social processes. They are generated by the struggle between social classes and social systems which determines the course of history, are interlocked with and influenced by this struggle and at the same time influence it themselves. The growth of the significance of the national elements in ideology and politics goes in the main along the same lines as the intensification of the social processes leading to the abolition of imperialism and the triumph of socialism, that is to the internationalist objectives pursued by the communists.

Naturally, these trends do not invariably coincide either in ideology or in politics. In certain cases they may even run counter to one another. Different classes have always attached different meanings to national tasks and national interests. The working class sees the supreme embodiment of national interests in abolishing capitalism in its country gaining the status of the nation's leading force, spearheading the struggle to build a new society, in which the ideals of social and national liberation will triumph. The reactionary classes substituting their own selfish interests for common national interests seek to take the edge off the working people's class struggle and preserve the system of capitalist exploitation.

The struggle to make the ideology of the masses reflect the interests of the working, patriotic majority of each nation against substitution of nationalistic ambitions for national goals is associated with the actions of various social forces not only inside each country but also on a worldwide scale. Faced by a powerful upsurge of the national liberation movement today, the *bourgeoisie* is going out of its way to canalize the national movement in the direction of ethnic and racial strife, to divert it from its genuine task, that of national renaissance, which is possibly only on a basis of social progress. The communists deem it their duty to struggle against any attempt to

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The Marxist-Leninists have a totally different attitude to the national ideology expressing the people's legitimate aspirations towards liberation from all forms of ethnic oppression, primarily from colonialism and neocolonialism; this liberation improves the position of the working people in the countries concerned.

The unprecedented growth of the national liberation movement in the postwar period, the entry of scores of Asian, African and Latin American peoples on the path of independence, have naturally aroused a tremendous upsurge of national feeling, national pride, national self-awareness, a striving to consolidate national sovereignty, economic and political independence.

The Marxist-Leninists not only support the people's freedom struggle but also indicate the right way of securing final victory in the struggle for national independence: the way of social progress, of socialism. At the same time, the communists differentiate between the lawful aspirations of nations towards freedom, their efforts to strengthen their sovereignty and independence from the nationalism of reactionary forces in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The communists support whatever is progressive in the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. They are in favour of a strong alliance with this movement.

The Marxist-Leninists proceed from the premise that this alliance is of worldwide historic significance, since unity of all revolutionary forces today is not only indispensable for bringing to completion the tasks of national liberation, but is crucial to the destiny of the entire world revolutionary process.

The question of attitude to the national liberation movement is closely related to the multi-millioned allies of the working class in the struggle against international imperialism, for socialism.

Lenin regarded an alliance between the working class and the peasantry as the most crucial question of socialist revolution in Russia and world revolution in general. It was primarily because our Party successfully preserved and consolidated the proletariat's alliance with the peasantry that socialism has triumphed in our country.

In the present situation the working class is confronted on a world-

Asian, African, and Latin American countries, but also those in developed capitalist countries. In these countries the aggravation of social contradictions inevitably leads to isolation of the monopoly circles, which are opposed by joint actions of not only the workers but also other social strata, such as the peasantry, the petty and middle *bourgeoisie*, and the intelligentsia. The greater part of society in these countries is interested in restricting the power of the monopolies, in defence and widening of democratic freedoms, which are under attack from the monopolists, in the maintenance of peace. This holds out favourable opportunities for united action by the communists jointly with the socialists and other democratic parties and sets a broad social stage for a struggle for transformations extending beyond the framework of conventional reforms.

The entire course of historical development, particularly during the last few decades, indicates that in the capitalist countries the social tasks of the working class, by winning support from the mass of the people, increasingly acquire a common national character. At the same time, it is perfectly obvious to the communists that truly national tasks cannot be successfully fulfilled in isolation from the solution of international problems, that the national interests of every people cannot be separated from the interests of all progressive mankind.

The Marxist-Leninists believe that correct interpretation and application of the principle of proletarian internationalism makes it possible to meet the national requirements of any party and any section of the working people while preserving the unity of the communist movement and all revolutionary forces. This is precisely the kind of organic harmony required by the immediate tasks of the revolutionary movement.

The need for such harmony has been thrown into salient relief by the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence of countries belonging to different social systems. Today, when enormous nuclear weapons arsenals have been built up and war would inevitably wipe out whole nations the preservation and strengthening of international peace has become the basic prerequisite for solving any national task. For a people to be able to resolve its national and social problems, it must above all display concern for preserving peace on earth, and this

cannot be achieved otherwise than by adding its efforts to those of all other nations.

This holds true of another crucial task of the revolutionary movement, one of struggle against imperialism and colonialism. In spite of the bitter conflicts rending apart the imperialist camp, it comes out on the whole as a united force in the struggle against the revolutionary movement. Can one, indeed, seriously expect to defeat this reactionary force by scattered actions, without reliance on internationalist support from one's class comrades pursuing the same objectives? Obviously not. According to Marx, such separate actions are bound to end in failure. If the Marxists had not sacredly followed this behest of their teachers, there would not have been on earth today either a world socialist system or scores of young states which have freed themselves from colonial dependence, and imperialism would have held, as before, unchallenged sway over the international arena.

International unity of action is particularly vital to the struggle for socialism. The securing of favourable international conditions for the working class to come to power, defence of the independence of the socialist states against imperialist aggression, and the very development of new social relations are impossible without support from world socialism and the use of its experience.

If a working-class party in an effort to assert itself as a national force focused its attention exclusively on the fulfilment of national tasks and refused to take part in collective actions and actions of solidarity, it would wittingly or unwittingly oppose its perfectly just desire to act as a national force to its internationalist duty, to the common cause of the working class. It is extremely doubtful that in this way a working-class party can strengthen its ties with the masses and enhance its prestige in the country. Affiliation with the great world communist movement is the basic source of the prestige enjoyed by the Marxist-Leninist parties. A proletarian party cannot become an influential national force if it retreats into its shell, evades fundamental problems that can be solved only within the ranks of the international revolutionary movement, in common with the fraternal parties. He who attempted in one form or another to isolate himself from the communist movement, from socialism in being with all its achievements and difficulties, would of necessity dissociate himself

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Concentration of efforts on a quest for new ways and means of securing an organic harmony between national and international interests is an exceptionally important task today.

Revolutionary practice and the experience of revolutionary struggle show that united action, and that solidarity of all democratic and progressive forces is the main political weapon of the working people, and that genuine internationalism is the decisive prerequisite for realizing the national aspirations of every people. This is the position that has always been consistently upheld by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet communists believe that it is their internationalist duty to fulfil successfully the programme of communist construction and thereby to score new triumphs in the competition against socialism in all fields of life.

The CPSU deems it its internationalist duty to make its experience in political and economic work available to the Communist parties and young national states.

Along with the other fraternal parties, our Party takes whatever steps are necessary to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist nations, to promote international friendship and co-operation, to advance the principles of socialist internationalism, the basis for relations between the socialist countries.

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM

Co-operation between nations which have opted for socialism has assumed special significance today. Following the growth of socialism beyond the limits of only one state, international relations between national contingents of the working class have turned today into inter-state relations, while political and ideological co-operation between the fraternal parties has been advanced to a higher stage and supplemented with economic co-operation between socialist countries. All this has served to strengthen the international ties between the fraternal parties and peoples which have taken the socialist road. At the same time, a number of new problems, which

have never yet been encountered by the revolutionary movement, have arisen in this field.

How can the national, state interests of each socialist country be harmonized with the interests of the entire community of socialist nations? How can the interests of individual socialist states be harmonized? How can the turbulent stream of enhanced national self-awareness associated with successes in socialist construction be directed along the path of socialist internationalism? These questions have been posed by the realities of life. The destiny of world socialism, mankind's future, largely depends on the right answers to them. The desire of the world's working people to see a model of truly new relations among nations in the socialist community lends added importance to the fulfilment of these tasks.

Reflecting on the ways of development of a socialist union of nations, Lenin wrote: "We want a voluntary union of nations that would tolerate no coercion by one nation against another, a union based on complete trust, on a clear awareness of their fraternal unity and absolutely voluntary consent. Such a union cannot be achieved immediately; it is necessary to work for it with great patience and caution so as not to wreck the matter, not to cause distrust, and so as to oust the mistrust left by centuries of oppression by the landlords and the capitalists, private property and enmity generated by its division and redivision."¹

The socialist community of nations has existed for only two decades, but it can be safely said that over this short period many of the tasks Lenin referred to have been accomplished. The community of free nations has stood the test of time and demonstrated the advantages offered to nations by socialism, by all-round co-operation among sister nations.

The close-knit military and political alliance of socialist states has erected a barrier to imperialist encroachments on their independence. The countries which have taken the socialist path since the end of the Second World War have greatly increased their industrial output and made spectacular progress in all sectors of the national

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 40, p. 43.

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economy, science and culture. Much has been done to work out various forms and methods of co-operation corresponding to the new type of international relations. This is exemplified by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), which is carrying out great and fruitful work in organizing mutually beneficial co-operation between socialist countries and co-ordinating their efforts in the field of economic development.

However great the achievements in shaping new international relations, one cannot fail to see that only the initial stage has been passed, and now we are searching for ways to advance our co-operation to a new, still higher level.

It is common knowledge that in every country capitalist society has to go through a period of revolutionary transition into socialist society. This law of social development operates in a certain sense not only within the limits of individual countries but also in the sphere of relations between them. Socialist relations between states do not take shape overnight, but in a long and complex process in which the socialist countries get rid of the burden of relations inherited from capitalism and work out new standards of co-operation, *rapprochement* and relations conforming to the nature and principles of socialism.

The countries of the socialist system vary in levels of economic development and have different historical and cultural traditions. Today, when the problems of all-round economic and political co-operation have come to the forefront, these factors are assuming ever greater significance.

In the last twenty years the socialist countries have consolidated their economies, the sociopolitical foundation of the new system, and their statehood. Therefore, each socialist country has become more confident in its own strength, and their desire to play a growing part on the international scene is quite understandable. The enhanced national self-awareness of their peoples motivates the Communist parties' efforts to strengthen the national sovereignty, economic and political independence of their countries.

One may be confident that the policy of co-operation between sovereign socialist states pursued by the fraternal parties has laid a broad foundation for strengthening their genuine unity. This policy

has yielded good results. However, they might have been much better if it had not been for the activities of China's leaders. The imperialists realize only too well that socialist countries separately are by no means what they are as a united force. Characteristically, in recent time the Western Ruling quarters, aware of the futility of their hopes for defeating socialism by force of arms, have been increasingly relying on economic and political methods in an effort to break up our community.

In this situation the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties, loyal as they are to the principles of proletarian internationalism, deem it necessary to perfect and develop by daily efforts the fraternal relations between socialist countries. We are trying to prove not in word but in deed that historical truth is on the side of those who are upholding internationalist unity, who oppose national narrow-mindedness and selfishness, who are struggling to consolidate the community of socialist nations.

Our Party proceeds from the premise that socialist countries can achieve unity only if they strictly comply with the national interests of each socialist country. Lenin said in this context: "Our experience has firmly convinced us that only great attention to the interests of different nations removes the soil for conflicts, mutual distrust, and apprehensions of any intrigues, creates trust, particularly among the workers and peasants speaking different languages, without which peaceful relations between nations or any successful development of whatever is valuable in modern civilization is absolutely impossible."¹ These precepts are the programme of work of the CPSU in the field of relations between socialist countries.

Experience has proved that in relations between socialist countries no policy can be pursued successfully if the complexity and at times a contradictory character of these relations are not taken into consideration. The task is evidently to do as much as possible to strengthen fraternal relations between sovereign socialist nations without attempting to go beyond existing historical conditions, without ignoring real processes and on the basis of consideration of the

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 45, p. 240.

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The different levels of economic and political development, the different historical and cultural traditions, the different geographical position—all these *in toto* may lead in certain cases within the framework of our common line to differences of approach to specific problems and their solution. Such differences, of course, are undesirable and it would be better if they did not exist at all. Since they may arise, however, it is necessary to work out effective methods to overcome them. Our Party is convinced that in pursuing a correct, Marxist-Leninist policy balancing the national interests of each socialist country with those of the entire community and the communist and liberation movement different approaches to specific problems must not disturb our unity.

The vital national interests correctly interpreted, far from contradicting the common tasks of the entire socialist community of nations, can be secured more effectively when harmonized with the interests of other socialist countries and realized by their joint efforts. We are seeking unity based not on subordination of the interests of one country to those of another but on their common goals and vital, fundamental interests, within the framework of which each socialist country may have its own problems and its own interpretation of developments.

We respect the independence of every state and at the same time we are seeking to develop by joint efforts and in every way co-operation between socialist countries and to bring our peoples closer together steadily. The socialist countries are gaining experience of all-round co-operation, working out methods to overcome difficulties, and developing the principles of relations between states of the new social system.

These refer in the first place to the principles which socialism is consistently upholding on the international scene and which, naturally, must be strictly observed in relations between socialist states. These are equality, mutual respect for the sovereign rights and territorial integrity of each socialist country incompatible with interference in each other's internal affairs and with efforts of one country to impose its experience on other fraternal countries.

Along with these principles the principles stemming from the idea

of proletarian internationalism are assuming ever greater significance. This refers to the development and extension of economic and political ties, brotherly co-operation of socialist countries in all fields of social life on the basis of mutual advantage and respect for national interests. This also implies co-ordination of the foreign policies of socialist states, their joint actions on the international scene in the interest of peace and peaceful coexistence. This, finally, means integration of the efforts of socialist countries in the defence field, their joint protection of the socialist gains of their peoples.

Among the principles on which the socialist community of nations is based, great significance attaches to one of educating the peoples in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and implementing internationalism in practice both in relations between socialist countries and in questions of solidarity with the world revolutionary and liberation movement.

All of us realize, of course, that the difficulty lies not in formulation of these principles, although here different approaches and shades of opinion are evidently possible, but in preserving and developing good relations, economic and political ties, and strengthening the fraternal friendship among nations in spite of possible differences of views.

This is insistently demanded by the objective interests of all countries which have taken the socialist road. In our day the socialist countries cannot advance their economies successfully and keep abreast of the modern requirements of scientific and technological progress without perfecting the international socialist division of labour, just as all other forms of co-operation.

Consolidation of the unity of the socialist community of nations is also facilitated by the internationalization of the way of life in the socialist countries, by the broad exchange of experience in the most diverse fields of economic, cultural, and party work, and in developing socialist democracy. Predicting the inevitability of certain one-sidedness and incompleteness in concepts of socialism generated by the experience of any one country, Lenin wrote in his time that "... only through a number of attempts each of which, taken separately, will be one-sided, will suffer from certain discrepancy, that complete socialism will be built by the revolutionary co-operation of the work-

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ers of all countries".¹ Such complete socialism taking shape before the eyes of our generation is made precisely by summing up the experience of the socialist countries.

There is only one way of disposing of the "one-sidedness" and "discrepancy" pointed out by Lenin. This is the study of the experience of others, a thorough analysis of all socialist practices in other socialist countries. The CPSU willingly takes advantage of whatever is best in the experience of building a new society in the fraternal countries. At the same time, the Soviet people are delighted, as Lenin himself would be delighted, whenever the peoples of other socialist countries, learning from our positive experience, as well as from the difficulties and setbacks we have suffered, accomplish the tasks of building a new society at lesser costs and traverse with relative ease the path the Soviet people followed for the first time in mankind's history.

The CPSU is firmly convinced that whatever difficulties may be encountered in the development of the world socialist system they will be overcome. The principles of proletarian internationalism will triumph. Our Party is doing its best, as it has always done, for this time to come as soon as possible.

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR STRENGTHENING THE UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The history of the international communist movement is a history of struggle for the triumph of proletarian internationalism, for unity and cohesion of the communists of all countries. It will be no exaggeration to say that the successes of revolutionary forces depended on how much they were united at the relevant stage of historical development. This has to be recalled today in view of the actions of China's leaders.

The vast majority of the Communist parties reaffirmed their

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 36, p. 306.

allegiance to the Declaration of 1957 and the statement of 1960, their determination to struggle for implementing the decisions of the Moscow conferences worked out by collective efforts. Many of the fraternal parties justly emphasize that in the present situation it is not enough simply to desire unity, because this desire by itself cannot remove the difficulties that have arisen. It is necessary to fight for unity and cohesion. To fight stubbornly and consistently, just as the great Lenin did. To fight for unity and cohesion means to mobilize revolutionary forces against our class enemies, to expose splitters opposed to the unity of our ranks.

Along with other Marxist-Leninist parties the CPSU regards it as its internationalist duty to prevent such developments that could weaken the unity and power of the communist movement and thus weaken all forces opposed to imperialism.

Seeking to overcome the difficulties created by the CPC leaders, our Party has more than once come forward with constructive initiatives. It is guided by Lenin's instructions to the effect that "the differences inside political parties and between political parties are usually settled not only by a polemic on questions of principle but also by the development of political life itself; it may even be more correct to say: not so much by the first as by the second".¹ The principled line of the CPSU is as follows: along with defence of the collectively charted line of the international communist movement to carry out concrete actions to direct the development of political events into the necessary channel, to show in practice by facts the correctness of our common course aimed at frustrating the aggressive ambitions of imperialism.

The successful fulfilment of the programme of communist construction in the Soviet Union, the development of its economy and culture, the restoration and further development of the Leninist principles of socialist democracy—all these are practical steps proving the historic correctness of the line mapped out by the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU.

The certain relaxation of international tensions, the treaty on termination of nuclear weapons tests in the three media, and the

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 11, p. 133.

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agreement on non-deployment of nuclear weapons in outer space, the Soviet Union's assistance to young, developing states—all these are internationalism in action.

Scattered efforts of Communist parties and socialist countries cannot produce anything like the effect of the joint efforts of the fraternal countries and parties. Here one is confronted in its full dimensions by the problem of practical forms of co-ordinating the actions of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the struggle for peace, national liberation and socialism in the present concrete situation.

Experience has shown that joint actions of the fraternal parties require flexible forms and a sensitive reaction to changes in the international situation. These forms must secure unity of action on the cardinal issues and guarantee the independence and equality of all Communist parties. The realities of daily life indicate that organizational conservation in practice is no less harmful than dogmatism in theory. Nobody will evidently call in question the fact that the greater maturity of the Communist parties, their independence and equality must become the solid foundation for strengthening proletarian internationalism, for working out new effective forms of international co-operation of communists.

Genuine unity and solidarity do not contradict or rule out a wide variety of approaches and assessments, differences in views and tactics. It is indisputable, however, that the more attention we give to the infinite variety of local conditions and the concrete situation, the greater the need to secure that with all this variety and differences the general principles of Marxist-Leninist theory are upheld and developed, that in our actions we never lose sight of the prospects of our common struggle for the triumph of communism.

As far back as the seventies of the last century Marx and Engels wrote that the programme of the International was "limited to charting the main lines of the proletarian movement, whereas their theoretical elaboration is carried out under the influence of the requirements of practical struggle and as a result of an exchange of opinions within sections, in their organs, and at their congresses, where all shades of socialist convictions are allowed without discrimination."¹

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, vol. 18, p. 31.

It is precisely a "practical struggle" and a live "exchange of opinions" along the common "main lines" of the working-class movement that provide the solid foundation for strong working-class solidarity, for securing harmony between national and international tasks, for finding such forms of joint struggle that best meet the interests of the international brotherhood of communists.

Recognition of the general, cardinal principles of Marxism-Leninism, a live friendly and fruitful exchange of experience and opinions on burning problems of communist theory and practice, united action in the struggle against international imperialism, for the common goals—such are the concrete manifestations of proletarian solidarity, the international unity of communists in the present epoch.

The CPSU, just as other fraternal parties, believes that in our day the most practicable forms of pooling the efforts of the Communist parties, of reaching unanimity of views, are contacts, exchange of experience, bilateral or multilateral meetings devoted to individual problems and, finally, broad international conferences to study the general problems of the communist movement and the conclusions deriving therefrom.

In particular, the experience of the communist forums of 1957 and 1960 has proved highly valuable. It has been demonstrated in practice that under present conditions an international conference is the most fruitful form of joint creative work of the world's communists, an effective way of consolidating the fraternal parties and strengthening their unity.

The next conference of Communist and Workers' parties is also confronted by great and complex tasks. It is called upon to review the results of world development over the last few years, to assess new processes taking place in both the capitalist and socialist worlds, to map out ways of strengthening the unity of the communist movement, and to outline the common tasks facing all Marxist-Leninist parties.

Seeking to discredit the very idea of the conference, China's leaders allege that its purpose is to "excommunicate" the CPC from the international communist movement, to "expel" the PRC from the socialist camp. Such allegations misrepresent the true aims and inten-

tions of the fraternal parties. The present policy of the CPC is to pursue its line of proletarian supreme internationalism. Today: the socialist liberation movement has displayed growing unity. The fraternal parties, the place at the table, the differences between the CPC representatives and the substantial differences between Marxism-Leninism and

Marx, the fundamental association of national liberation movements, wide scope for this direction.

This is a difficult and arduous period of development, when the communist movement is

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tions of the fraternal parties. Despite its strong disagreement with the present policy of China's leadership, the CPSU will continue to pursue its line towards unity. In this matter our Party is guided by the supreme interests of cohesion of all the main revolutionary forces of today: the socialist countries, the working class and the national liberation movements. We are convinced that if the CPC leadership displayed goodwill and a desire to reckon with the views of other parties, the exchange of opinions and the debate that would take place at the conference could help towards overcoming the existing differences on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. However, even if CPC representatives do not attend the conference, it will contribute substantially to the cohesion of the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian internationalism.¹

* * *

Marx, Engels, and Lenin regarded proletarian internationalism as the fundamental principle of building the future brotherhood and association of all nations. They linked the final solution of the nationalities problem with the triumph of communism on a world-wide scale. This is our objective, and the path we are following lies in this direction.

This path, however, is not a geometrically straight line; it is difficult and tortuous, it includes temporary retreats and passes through periods of difficulties in relations between individual socialist countries. Such is precisely the period we are living through now, when the indisputable success of world socialism and the entire world communist movement are concurrent with certain difficulties.

Our Party is confident that the communist movement will successfully overcome all these difficulties and achieve the unity of its ranks on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. This assurance is based on a sober analysis of the situation, of the concrete factors operating in spite of the aforesaid difficulties.

¹ The international conference of Communist and Workers' parties was held in Moscow in 1969 (Ed.).

The need for unity of the communist movement stems not from wishful thinking or good intentions, but from the objective interests of the working class of all countries and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, from the vital interests of the peoples of the socialist countries, all progressive forces of today. Sooner or later these real, cardinal interests of the peoples will prevail over the subjective factors associated with wrong ideas of reality.

However much the imperialists may gloat over the present differences within the communist movement, whatever dismal predictions they may make about further developments, they will not succeed in stemming the great advance of the peoples towards socialism.

In our day a test of each Communist party for strength and maturity is a test for internationalism, an ability to maintain the right balance in fulfilling national and international tasks. "... Let us recall", Marx said, "the fundamental principle of the International: solidarity. We shall achieve the great goal we are aspiring to, if we firmly implant this vital principle among all workers in all countries."¹

Our Party and other fraternal Communist and Workers' parties are doing their utmost to uphold and develop this vital principle, to strengthen the unity of the world communist forces.

¹ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Works*, vol. 18, p. 155.

The Vitality Speech to the on the occasion to the USSR

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The Vitality of Socialist Democracy
Speech to the Kashira District electorate
on the occasion of nomination for election
to the USSR Supreme Soviet, 1 June 1970

Dear comrades!

Let me express my heartfelt gratitude to you and all working people of the Kashira electoral district for the high honour and trust accorded me by my nomination for election to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

This is a great event in my life. It has filled my heart with deep emotion linked with my awareness of my Party and civic duty, my responsibility to the electorate. This awareness is made keener by my realization of the fact that formerly the deputy to the Supreme Soviet elected from your district was the legendary Civil War hero Kliment Voroshilov, a prominent Party leader and statesman. He devoted a great deal of energy and effort to Soviet armed forces development, the Party cause, the consolidation of the Soviet state. As a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet he effectively represented your interests in the supreme legislative body. I realize that I will have to work hard to be worthy at least to some extent of my predecessor.

I regard my nomination for election to the USSR Supreme Soviet as an expression of trust in our Leninist Party, of which I am a member, and of implicit confidence in the great cause our Party is serving.

It is four years since the last elections to the Supreme Soviet. These years have witnessed great and important events both at home and abroad. For the Soviet people this has been a time of tense efforts to implement the tasks set by the 23rd CPSU Congress.

Now, taking a retrospective look at the path we have transversed over the period, we are summing up, as it were, our accomplish-

ments. This is not only a matter of tradition. Reflection on the past helps one understand the present realities better and make plans for the future with greater assurance.

To describe the results of the last period in the most general way it can be stated that the plans outlined by the 23rd Congress, which express the fundamental content of the Party's election platform, are being successfully fulfilled in respect of all their basic indicators. Thanks to the correct policy planned by the Party, the Soviet people have made great progress in the continued consolidation of the Soviet state, in reinforcing the alliance of the working class and the collective farmers, in strengthening the sociopolitical and ideological unity of Soviet society.

By their energetic work the Soviet people have gained a firm foothold for another long stride forward in building the material and technological basis for communism.

This country's industrial production has been advanced to a higher stage. Its growth rates have been high and stable. The average annual increment in production has been 8.5 per cent, which is higher than that envisaged in the Congress guidelines. Growth has been fastest in the power, general engineering, chemical and petrochemical industries, that is in the branches of industry which are crucial to sustained technological progress. Significant progress has been made in the consumer goods industries.

There is yet another aspect of development that merits attention. Over the last four years gross industrial output has increased almost 39 per cent. It should be borne in mind at the same time that each per cent of growth is now much bigger in absolute terms, because the scope of Soviet industrial production has become truly enormous.

The change in the scale of Soviet achievements and Soviet industrial power is exemplified, among other things, by the following fact. You all know, of course, that the Kashira power plant is famous in its own way throughout the country. It is one of the first pieces in Lenin's GOELRO nationwide electrification programme. Its commissioning was an event of national significance. Lenin himself closely followed progress in its construction. Today we put into operation every year power-generating installations with a capacity equal to hundreds of such stations. And this is taken as a matter of

course. The increment is more than the total of the last programme.

This shows how the Soviet people have built communism in 15 years.

In the last few years there have been handicaps. Nevertheless, our output has grown. On the whole, of course, did not.

As a result of our work and the Soviet technological facilities, land reclamation, and the general advance the general culture and the standards of living exceeds from the past and only way to production. It requires vigorous but also the work. The more advanced the requisites of the people.

It is a law of development and successful standards. Our Union has increased 10 per cent as a result of the 23rd Congress government rate and in office work.

The Party is constructing

course. The increment in power output during one year is greater than the total production contemplated under the GOELRO programme.

This shows how the scope of Soviet production has grown and how the Soviet people are translating into reality Lenin's maxim that communism is Soviet power plus nationwide electrification.

In the last few years, as you know, the Soviet collective farmers have been handicapped by extremely adverse weather conditions. Nevertheless, over the period the average annual gross agricultural output has grown 18 per cent from the four years before. This, of course, did not come by itself.

As a result of the sweeping measures the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government have carried out to modernize the technological facilities of the collective and state farms, to implement land reclamation schemes, to introduce chemicalization and to advance the general standards of crop farming, the efficiency of agriculture and the output of farm produce have grown, and the living standards of the collective farmers have improved. The Party proceeds from the premise that intensification of agriculture is the main and only way of securing the continued advancement of agricultural production. This, of course, is a task of national proportions. It requires vigorous efforts on the part of not only the collective farmers but also the working class, the intelligentsia, the entire Soviet people. The more actively we shall attack this task, the sooner we shall have the requisite quantities of all products needed to meet the demands of the people.

It is a law of development of Soviet society that the more stubborn and successful the work of the Soviet people, the better their living standards. Over the last four years the national income in the Soviet Union has increased 31 per cent. *Per capita* real income has grown 26 per cent as compared with 23 per cent envisaged in the guidelines set by the 23rd CPSU Congress. The Party's Central Committee and the government have set aside large funds for raising the minimum pay rate and improving substantially the pension benefits for factory and office workers and for collective farmers.

The Party is paying keen attention to expanding housing construction. In the period 1966-1969 a total of over 400 million m²

of housing was built, which made it possible to improve the housing conditions of 44 million persons. This scope of housing construction is without precedent in this country. Needless to say, there are quite a few unresolved problems in this field. What matters most, however, is the fact that we have picked up speed and gained the necessary experience, and now it will be easier to deal with the shortcomings still in evidence.

We attribute the rapid growth of the material and cultural standards of life of the Soviet people to the nature of the Soviet social system, and with good reason. This, however, does not mean at all that this growth takes place automatically. Much depends on how effectively we Soviet people use the advantages offered by the socialist system, how efficiently we manage the economy.

Speaking at the December 1969 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev proved conclusively that the material level of life could have been higher if the latent reserves had been fully utilized at all enterprises, construction sites, on all collective and state farms to raise production efficiency, and labour productivity, if losses from spoilage, absenteeism, and poor organization of work had been avoided.

We live in a period of rapid development of the scientific and technological revolution, which has closely integrated production and science and converted science into a direct productive force. Modern production is simply inconceivable without mastering the latest achievements of this revolution. The higher the scientific and technological standards of production, the more effective the results of the performance of every worker individually and of society as a whole.

The task facing us now is to take full advantage of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution in the interest of communist construction. That is why the Party attaches high priority to the solution of such problems as improvement of management and planning, the implementation of an economic reform, combination of centralized sectoral management with widening the rights of the Republics, encouragement of the economic autonomy and initiative of enterprises.

Naturally, new and greater demands are made under these condi-

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tions on economic managers and their qualifications. The Party says: once you are a leading executive you have more to answer for and you are responsible for all affairs in the area of work under your authority. This requirement is legitimate. It is impossible to cope with the complex tasks facing us without it. However, I wish to emphasize another, highly important, aspect of our development.

It is a matter for the whole people to fulfil the tasks facing the country. Wherever a Soviet citizen may work, he is actively involved in the management of national affairs. Nobody is entitled to stay away from them. This is the only right way to handle this problem. Indeed, raising production efficiency, implementing the regime of economy, and rational management are possible only when the mass of the working people are actively involved in this work. Their activity is motivated by their ownership of all material and cultural values existing in this country. They create them, and they own them. This is the line bequeathed to us by Lenin. The Party is consistently pursuing this line.

Our Party is called Leninist not only because it was founded and raised by Lenin, but also because it lives and works in accordance with Lenin's behests. Steeled in struggle, in the gruelling tests of class battles, enriched with the experience of revolutionary achievements and socialist construction, the Soviet Communist Party has won profound respect not only of the peoples of our multinational state but of the peoples of the whole world as well.

The recent celebration of Lenin's birth was striking evidence of the peoples' affectionate attitude to the CPSU. It demonstrated conclusively the strong unity and cohesion of the working people with the Communist Party and its Central Committee, the Party's high international prestige.

In his report on the occasion of the Lenin centenary, General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev presented a vivid picture of the spectacular historic transactions carried out by the Party and the Soviet people following the path charted by Lenin.

In the last four years, along with its unflagging attention to the solution of major economic problems, the Party displayed unremitting concern for the continued advancement of the Soviet political system, for the development and consolidation of the democratic

foundation of the Soviet state. In socialist society the consolidation of the state and the development of democracy are a common process.

All economic and cultural progress made by the Soviet people over the last fifty-odd years since the Revolution has been inseparably linked with the practical activities of the Soviet state. Historical experience has proved that the stronger the Soviet state, the greater and faster our progress.

With the machinery of state at their disposal, the Soviet people led by the Communist Party have defended the gains of the October Revolution, carried out industrialization and collectivization of agriculture, a cultural revolution, and built a socialist society. The Soviet state has withstood severe trials and proved its great viability during the Second World War. Today it is the main instrument for building communism in this country.

The consolidation of Soviet statehood stems organically from the objective requirements of the development of Soviet society. The entire record of socialist construction indicates that without an efficiently functioning state apparatus it is impossible to secure planned economic development, the guidance of many other areas of social life, not to speak of national defence. Genuine concern for the vital interests of the people implies primarily vigorous efforts to strengthen and safeguard the Soviet state and to guarantee its security in every way.

As you know, the state security service is an important political instrument for the protection and defence of the Soviet state of the whole people. This service is called upon to stand guard vigilantly over the interests of the state, to expose hostile intrigues in good time and nip them in the bud, contributing thereby to maintaining favourable conditions for the further development of Soviet society.

This is a task of great dimensions and responsibility. It is being fulfilled successfully, because along with the state security service the whole people protect and defend the Soviet state. Every Soviet citizen deems it his civic, patriotic duty to guard state interests, to display high political vigilance, irreconcilability to anything that may cause harm to the security of the Soviet state and society.

This is only natural. Indeed, we regard the consolidation of the socialist state from a standpoint diametrically opposite to that of the

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bourgeoisie. The latter regards the state as a machine for coercion and dictation to the mass of the people. A bourgeois state is considered strong only when it is capable of imposing the will of monopoly capital on the working people. We, however, see the power of the Soviet state in the active involvement of the masses in the management of the affairs of state, in their revolutionary creativity. This is the most genuine democracy.

Democracy for us is not an appeal, nor a beautiful slogan, but a vitally indispensable condition for communist construction. Our tasks of gigantic scope can be achieved only by the joint efforts of the people, their collective wisdom and experience. Therefore, the essence of socialist democracy consists precisely in stimulating the social and political activity of the working people and their involvement in the management of all production and state affairs.

Soviet democracy is being advanced in all fields. The Soviets have stepped up their activity. One of every ten citizens is involved in their work in one form or another. In November of last year all of us followed with keen attention the deliberations of the 3rd National Congress of Collective Farmers, which reviewed the results of the economic and social development of the Soviet villages and approved a new model charter of the collective farm, signifying another long step in advancing collective farm production and collective farm democracy.

The trade unions, the Young Communist League, and other public organizations hold an influential and honourable place in all spheres of life in socialist society. They have become part and parcel of the Soviet political system, an important factor in communist construction, in the moulding of the new man. All this is also a manifestation of Soviet socialist democracy.

The broad rights the working people enjoy under socialist democracy organically combine with their civic duties. Socialism is a highly organized society. Its members are imbued with the spirit of conscious discipline and high responsibility. Patriotism, ideological dedication, conscientious work for the benefit of society, concern for preserving and increasing public property, collectivism and comradesly mutual assistance are the characteristic personality traits of Soviet man, the builder of communist society.

Of course, people who break the rules of socialist community life are still to be found among us. To this day we encounter occasional cases of theft of state and public property and personal property of citizens. The public is justly indignant at such disgraceful phenomena as hooliganism and drunkenness. All honest working people feel revulsion at manifestations of parasitism, self-seeking and bureaucracy. These survivals of the past have not yet ceased to exist but they are on the way to extinction because all honest Soviet citizens are fighting to oust them.

Over the period under review we had to carry on economic and cultural development in a complicated international situation. The Party's Central Committee and the Soviet government did their utmost to secure, jointly with other socialist countries, a favourable international political climate for socialist and communist construction.

The international situation naturally has a bearing on our home affairs as well. Indeed, we are not shut off from the rest of the world by some blank wall. We must take account of what is taking place on the international scene in fulfilling the tasks of our economic development. The amount of appropriations for the needs of the national economy and culture, for improving the working people's material well-being, for instance, largely depends on the operation of external factors.

The main trend in the development of the international situation was the continued change in the alignment of forces in the world in favour of socialism. The leading force in the anti-imperialist struggle was, as it is today, the world socialist system, which has grown still stronger over the last few years. The fraternal socialist countries are not simply a sum total of states but a sociopolitical and economic community of free and sovereign states united by the ties of socialist internationalism. The imperialists and opportunists of various kinds have witnessed the strength of these fraternal, internationalist ties in the example of the events in Czechoslovakia. When the socialist gains in that country were in jeopardy the Soviet Union and other socialist countries came to the assistance of their Czechoslovak brothers. Taking advantage of this internationalist assistance, the Czechs and the Slovaks gave a rebuff to the counter-revolution.

Our relations with the socialist countries have continued to

develop. Their most characteristic feature is the deepening and perfection of the forms and methods of political, economic, cultural and military co-operation. Great work is being carried out in this direction within the framework of Comecon and the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

Relations with the young developing states have held an important place in Soviet foreign policy over the period. Our policy in relation to the national liberation movement is well known. It is outlined in the resolutions of the 23rd Party Congress which emphasized the necessity of all-round support for the peoples fighting against imperialism.

In our relations with the capitalist countries we abide consistently by the principles of peaceful coexistence of states belonging to different social systems. At the same time we oppose with determination any aggressive encroachments on the part of imperialism.

American imperialism is the main bulwark of international reaction and militarism today. The armed intervention in South East Asia, the conflict in the Middle East—these and other facts graphically illustrate its aggressive aims, its ambition to exercise police functions all over the world.

American statesmen like to invest their foreign policy declarations in the garb of various "doctrines" and "conceptions". Recently statements claiming to have come up with another such doctrine have been made in Washington.

What is the essence of such statements? At first the US administration, in contravention of the Geneva agreements, sent American forces to South-East Asia, and now, on the plea of securing the "safety" of these forces, it is trying, contrary to all standards and principles of international law, to substantiate its "right" to open interference in the internal affairs of foreign nations.

This is a doctrine of flagrant violation of sovereignty, of military intervention and escalation of war, because the "safety" of American servicemen fighting in Vietnam can be secured by no means by an escalation of war, but by their immediate withdrawal from that country.

The intrusion of American forces into Cambodia has exacerbated the situation in South East Asia to a still higher pitch. It has been

undertaken in a situation where the United States is continuing its war of aggression against the Vietnamese people.

As is known, in this war American imperialism has sustained grave military and political losses. Washington's "hawks" who expected to win quick victory have come up against the courageous resistance of the Vietnamese people and have been forced to sit down at the negotiating table in Paris. Evidently, however, they have failed to learn their lesson. So much the worse for them. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it is rendering as before all-round support and assistance to the embattled Vietnamese people. There is no doubt that the US aggressive plans in Vietnam and in the whole of South East Asia will inevitably become a débâcle.

A tense situation persists in the Middle East. Supported by the US imperialists, Israel has not desisted from her armed provocations against Arab countries. The Israeli militarists and their American patrons pursue the objective of liquidating the progressive regimes in Arab countries and of undermining the national liberation movement in this region of the world. These intentions, however, are not destined to materialize. The peoples of the Arab countries are not alone in their just struggle. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are supporting and helping them.

One of the central problems of Soviet foreign policy is the maintenance of peace and security in the continent of Europe.

Consolidation of European security is the key prerequisite for securing peace on earth. Enormous armed forces and arsenals of the most up-to-date weapons, including atomic weapons, are concentrated in Europe. The two most powerful coalitions—the aggressive NATO bloc and the Warsaw Treaty Organization—directly confront one another here. An armed conflict in this region may easily assume global scope. This is proved, in particular, by the record of history. The two world wars began in Europe.

At present the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are working for calling an all-European conference. Within the framework of this conference it is expected to discuss and find a solution to such crucial problems as guarantees of European security and renunciation of the use or threat of force, an expansion on a basis of equality of trade, economic, scientific and technological ties, and

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Definite circles, primarily the US administration, are erecting a variety of obstacles in the way of preparing an all-European conference. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries, however, are not relaxing their efforts for an all-European conference to be convened and for fruitful results to be achieved in the cause of strengthening all-European security. The idea of holding the conference is gaining a growing number of supporters.

The scene of today's world is one of acute and tense struggle between the forces of socialism and democracy on the one hand, and the reactionary, imperialist forces on the other. In this struggle the positions of the international communist movement are steadily growing stronger. Today it is coming out as the most crucial factor of political development.

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held last year demonstrated a trend towards greater unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, towards an intensified joint struggle of communists and all progressive forces against imperialist reaction.

Internationalism is the great banner of the communists in the struggle against the oppression of capital, for the triumph of socialism and communism. A departure from internationalism causes damage to the cause of the working people's liberation.

The tendency towards greater cohesion of the international communist movement makes us confident that the communists, all progressive forces, will achieve new triumphs in the struggle for democracy, national liberation, peace and socialism.

The current election campaign is taking place in a situation of especially high political and labour activity of Soviet citizens. It is a continuation of its own kind of the upsurge of nationwide enthusiasm generated by the celebration of Lenin's birth and the 25th anniversary of Soviet victory in the Great Patriotic War against Nazi Germany.

We are completing the Eighth Five-Year plan this year. The Party is advancing towards its 24th Congress, a major political event in the life of the CPSU and the entire Soviet people. The Lenin jubilee year of 1970 will go down in the history of this country as a splendid page in the record of communist construction.

The message of the CPSU Central Committee to all citizens of this great country on the occasion of the election to the USSR Supreme Soviet sets out the principles of the home and foreign policy of the Party and state. It emphasizes that the Communist Party regards it as its supreme duty to struggle for a happy life of the working people, for steady growth of the power of this multinational socialist country, for a full triumph of communism.

The success of the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet will again forcefully demonstrate to the whole world the unbreakable unity of Soviet society, the great vitality of the fraternal friendship among the peoples of the USSR, the strong cohesion of the working people with the Communist Party and the Soviet government.

In conclusion, let me thank you once again for nominating me for election to the USSR Supreme Soviet, for the high honour you have thus accorded me, and to assure you that I will do all in my power to live up to your trust.

I wish you great success in your life and in your work for the benefit of this beautiful country.

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A Call for New Accomplishments
Speech at a solemn meeting of the
Murmansk City Committee of the CPSU
and the City Soviet of Working People's
Deputies on the occasion of the
decoration of Murmansk with the
Order of the Red Banner of Labour,
22 December 1971

Dear comrades!

Today your city is to be presented with the Order of the Red Banner of Labour. This high award has been bestowed on Murmansk for the successes achieved by its working people in fulfilling the assignments of the Eighth Five-Year plan. The Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet government have highly appraised the work of the fishermen and builders, port workers and railwaymen—all active participants in the economic and cultural development of your city.

This year is a remarkable period in the Soviet people's life. It will go down in this country's history as the year of the 24th CPSU Congress. The Congress presented a comprehensive and profound analysis of the current stage of communist construction. It equipped the Party and the entire Soviet people with a programme of this country's further socioeconomic development, and outlined the concrete ways and means of achieving the goals indicated. The Congress documents vividly express the Communist Party's high-principled line in the field of international politics aimed at strengthening the positions of the forces of peace and socialism.

The November 1971 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee was of major significance for the practical implementation of the decisions adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress.

The Plenary Meeting discussed and approved in the main the draft of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, which was then examined and unanimously endorsed at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The new five-year plan embodies the collective intelligence of the Party and the entire Soviet people. Not only Party and government bodies but also broad sections of the working people—workers, collective farmers, specialists and scientists—took part in working out this plan. This is conclusive evidence of the truly democratic nature of the Soviet social system.

In one of his last messages to the Party and people Lenin wrote: "... Now we have got an opportunity, fairly rare in history, to establish periods necessary for carrying out radical social changes, and we can see clearly now what can be done in five years and what needs a much longer time. . . ."¹

The Ninth Five-Year Plan has been drawn up on the basis of a thorough analysis of new possibilities and requirements. The Soviet Union today has enormous economic power which enables us to set and accomplish tasks that could be dreamt of but recently.

Statistics on Soviet economic growth over the years of the Eighth Five-Year Plan are well known. I shall cite only one example to show the tremendous growth of the scope of Soviet social production and the increase in the country's economic potential. In 1970 alone industrial output was almost twice that during all pre-war five-year plans taken together. Over the five-year plan period great successes have been achieved in the development of agriculture. On this basis the working people's well-being has been further improved.

This is the basis on which the new Ninth Five-Year Plan is to be built. The people of Murmansk can be proud of the fact that they have also contributed by their labours to building up this strong basis for this country's continued development.

The Soviet people have special feelings for Murmansk. Indeed, your city was called into being by the Soviet government. Before the Revolution this land had been considered almost uninhabitable. It is hard to believe today that at that time only 13,000 people lived in the territory of the Kola Peninsula.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 45, p. 385.

A high-ranking tsarist official wrote in a letter to the Archangel business community: "Since the Arctic is constantly clad in ice and crop farming or any industry are unthinkable there, I believe it is necessary to resettle all people from the Arctic. . . . And you are petitioning for something the other way around and talk about some Gulf Stream which does not and cannot exist in the Arctic."

Such ignorance and conservatism resulted in a steady decline of fishing in the Arctic. In 1913 the Murmansk fishermen landed only 80,000 centners of fish. Today the same quantity of fish is caught by one large refrigerated fishing trawler during one year.

It was only after the victory of the October Revolution that the wealth of the Arctic was truly placed at the service of the people. On Lenin's instructions the necessary equipment and foodstuffs were supplied to the Murmansk fishermen in 1920. It is from that time, as you know, that the Murmansk fleet of fishing trawlers dates its history.

Murmansk today, however, is not only the Arctic base of the Soviet fishing fleet.

After his visit to the Arctic in the years of the early Soviet five-year plans, Maxim Gorky wrote: "A city is being built on the desolate coast of the Arctic Ocean, on granite rocks. I do not exaggerate: a whole city is being built at once. . . . Murmansk is a striking illustration of the wide scope of state construction."¹

Your city played a great part in the Great Patriotic War. Fighting on the Karelian Front, shoulder to shoulder with the sailors of the Northern Fleet, the city of Murmansk became an impregnable fortress in the Arctic. Half-ruined but subdued, it was in those grim years a soldier city, a worker city whose exploit is praised in the chronicle of the Great Patriotic War.

The working people of Murmansk put in a great deal of work in the past five-year plan period, multiplying the splendid traditions of their city. The labour collectives of its enterprises completed ahead of schedule the five-year plan for the total volume of industrial output and such major indicators as fish catch, the output of fish products, sea and railway transportation, labour productivity growth in indus-

¹ M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Moscow, 1952, vol. 17, pp. 236-245.

try and construction. The whole country knows that the fishermen of Murmansk landed more than 44 million centners of fish and produced 430,000 centners of fish food products over and above plan in the last five-year plan period.

Every Soviet five-year plan is a new step along the path of communist construction. The further the Soviet people advance along this path, the more confident and longer their strides.

The Ninth Five-Year Plan is to become an important stage in the Soviet people's efforts to build up the material and technological basis for communism, to strengthen further this country's economic and defence potential. The main task of the five-year plan is to secure a considerable rise in the material and cultural standards of life of the people on the basis of high rates of development of socialist production, advancing its efficiency, scientific and technological progress, and stepping up the rate of labour productivity growth.

Delivering the report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Party Congress, Leonid Brezhnev said: "Having formulated a substantial improvement in the working people's well-being as the main task of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the Central Committee has in mind that this policy will determine our activity not only in the coming five years but also the general orientation of the country's economic development in the longer term. Outlining this policy, the Party proceeds primarily from the principle that the most complete satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of people is the supreme aim of social production under socialism."¹

The present level of economic development makes it possible to solve simultaneously a wide range of problems, to turn the economy to implementing the tasks in advancing the well-being of the people.

The assignments of the new five-year plan have evoked lively comments abroad. Our friends are gladdened by the prospects for the continued progress of the Soviet Union. Our ill-wishers are dissatisfied with such prospects, of course, and they are going out of their way to distort the essence of our plans. For instance, they are trying to circulate the idea that the Soviet Union has renounced its concepts of industrialization, since these allegedly "contradict" the

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and articles*, vol. 3, p. 238.

task of advancing the well-being of the people. Under socialism, however, there is no such contradiction. As is known, the new five-year plan provides for further rapid growth of heavy industry, which constitutes the basis for the steady expansion of social production and for increasing the working people's standards of life.

The assignments of the Ninth Five-Year Plan are also aimed at implementing a comprehensive programme of developing agriculture. The Party has put forward the task of intensifying agricultural production, of increasing its efficiency in every way. This implies wide-scale mechanization of crop farming and stock breeding, an increase in the use of mineral fertilizers, land reclamation, the application of scientific and technological achievements in production.

During the five-year plan period it is envisaged to invest enormous funds—about 129,000 million roubles—in agriculture. The fulfilment of the plans of agricultural development will make it possible to improve considerably the supply of foodstuffs to the population and raw materials to industry.

Thus, high development rates have been planned for both industry and agriculture.

For a society, however, it is important not only to turn out as much produce as possible. The amount of work involved, of labour inputs, is also important. In the new five-year plan period special attention will be given to raising the productivity of labour and production efficiency.

Why has the need to increase the efficiency of social production become a key problem? Why does the CPSU Central Committee attach first priority to advancing labour productivity in the Ninth Five-Year Plan period? The point is that we have reached a stage where the factors of extensive economic growth have largely been exhausted, so that high rates of economic development and, consequently, of raising the material well-being of the Soviet people can be maintained mostly by intensifying social production. We have the necessary economic, scientific and technological potentialities for this.

The task is to take full advantage of these potentialities, through systematic and planned efforts to increase production by efficient use of available productive capacities, renewal of equipment, applying the latest scientific and technological achievements, as well as by a

frugal attitude to every minute of working time, to every mechanism, every gramme of raw materials and fuel.

The Party's line of increasing in every way the efficiency of social production meets with full support and enthusiastic approval on the part of labour collectives, all participants in our social production. This is the guarantee of success in the fulfilment of these tasks.

The high rates of economic development provide a dependable basis for further advancement of the material and cultural standards of life of the people. In the new five-year plan period measures will be implemented to increase further the pay rates for factory and office workers, to raise the incomes of collective farmers, to improve pension benefits, and the working and living conditions of working mothers. In accordance with the growth of the working people's incomes, the production of consumer goods, consumer durables in particular, is to be increased considerably.

Just as in the preceding period we shall develop the construction of housing, cultural and service establishments at a high rate. Large funds have been earmarked for these purposes. A total of 60 million Soviet citizens will move into new apartments or have their housing conditions improved. This is a fairly large number, equal to the population of such countries as the German Federal Republic or Great Britain.

The successful fulfilment of the Ninth Five-Year Plan is a matter of concern to the whole Party and the whole people. Our work, our joint efforts, express our common interest in the best possible work performance of every individual and all of us taken together. This is why the socialist emulation drive generated by the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress has assumed such broad scope today. This powerful movement forcefully expresses the creativity of millions of working people, their conscious, communist attitude to work.

The preliminary results available indicate that the assignments of the first year of the five-year plan will be fulfilled. This is a good foothold for further successful work. The task now is to direct all work to developing the creativity of the masses, to disseminating progressive experience and to a struggle against shortcomings, which still exist. Effective fulfilment of plan assignments is a matter of honour and dignity for every working man, every labour collective.

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We communists take pride in our successes, but we never shut our eyes to shortcomings, and learn our lesson from them. Our Party frankly tells the working people about the difficulties still existing in economic development and in other areas of our activity, and outlines ways of overcoming these difficulties jointly with the working people.

The November 1971 Plenary Meeting of the Party's Central Committee specifically emphasized the need to do away with the situation where individual enterprises and sectors of the economy fail to fulfil their plan assignments. The available reserves and opportunities for advancing labour productivity are by no means used completely. Funds earmarked for capital construction are not utilized adequately either.

I hope you will not take offence if I remark that for all your good record described above you are still far from using all your latent reserves, that with your experience and your technology you could have achieved more in fulfilling the plans of fish catch. This year, of course, has been difficult as far as the fishing conditions are concerned. However, even in this year quite a few remarkable crews of fishing trawlers and herring seiners have successfully coped with their assignments, notwithstanding these hard conditions, and set up splendid examples of selfless work. This proves again and again that in the final analysis the human factor is decisive for success. I am confident that the working people of Murmansk will achieve the plan targets by their dedicated work.

Soviet home policy is inseparably linked with the activities of the Party and the Soviet state on the international scene. As you know, the international political situation remains complicated. The forces of international imperialism, primarily the reactionary circles of the United States, stubbornly pursue a policy aimed at undermining the positions of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the working class and the national liberation movements. The war of aggression in Vietnam, the Middle East crisis, the intrigues of imperialism in the Indian sub-continent—all these show that the struggle against the aggressive ambitions of imperialism should by no means be relaxed. The Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries are in the forefront of this struggle.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government consistently pursue their Leninist policy in international affairs. As is pointed out in the resolution of the November 1971 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, this policy implies a determined rebuff to imperialism and support for the revolutionary liberation movements, which is invariably combined with consistent efforts to affirm steadily the principle of peaceful coexistence of states belonging to different social systems.

The visits of the CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev to France, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and the German Democratic Republic, and his meeting with the Federal German Chancellor, have contributed significantly to implementing the Peace Programme advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress. The Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin has paid visits to Cuba, Algeria, Canada, Denmark and Norway, and other Soviet leaders have visited many other countries of the world. These visits have evoked broad reverberations in the world and produced a beneficial influence on the development of international relations.

In the world arena the Soviet Union closely co-operates with other fraternal socialist countries. The world socialist community of nations, its unity and consistent policy of peace are the most crucial factors which have favourable influences on the entire international situation. Our Party regards it as its primary internationalist duty to consolidate in every way the positions of world socialism, the unity of the socialist states, friendship and all-round co-operation with them. Over the period since the Congress the CPSU jointly with other fraternal parties has carried out great work to promote further the cohesion of the socialist community of nations.

The Soviet Union's relations with other fraternal countries in the political, economic and cultural fields are widening and becoming increasingly diversified. Work is in progress to implement practically the programme of socialist economic integration. Our combat union embodied in the Warsaw Treaty Organization is also being consolidated.

The Soviet Union adheres to a constructive stand and undertakes practical steps to have dangerous seats of imperialist aggression eliminated. Our Party and people, as before, are giving effective

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support to the Vietnamese people in their heroic struggle against US aggression. The peoples of Indochina must be allowed to shape their destinies by themselves. Eventually the US aggressors will be forced to get out of the countries of this region.

We are firmly on the side of the Arab peoples fighting to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression, for a just political settlement of the Middle East conflict. The blame for the delay in this settlement rests with the ruling quarters of Israel enjoying patronage and support from the United States.

The Soviet Union is consistently coming out for a peaceful settlement of the Indo-Pakistan conflict. Our position on this issue is perfectly clear. It is determined by the interests of peace, the legitimate interests of the peoples of this region, their aspirations for further advance along the path of national independence and social progress.

One of the central problems of modern international relations which is of crucial significance for the destinies of the peoples of Europe and the whole world is the maintenance of European security. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government are doing whatever is necessary to secure a relaxation of tensions in Europe. Leonid Brezhnev's visit to France has greatly contributed to this end. It was an event of great international significance. The situation which has taken shape in the continent of Europe today opens up favourable opportunities for calling a conference on security and co-operation in Europe.

In our foreign policy we consistently abide with the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence. Today this principle has become an effective factor of international development. The attempts of imperialism to turn back the clock of history have come to nought. The entire world development shows that the socialist world is invincible.

We never forget that peaceful coexistence does not rule out but, on the contrary, implies a sharp and high-principled political and ideological struggle against imperialism. This is precisely why our Party consistently and unswervingly combines its active policy of peace with vigilance in regard to intrigues by the enemies of peace and socialism.

All activities of our Party on the international scene are based on

the steady growth of the economic, political and defence potential of the Soviet Union. Hence the successful fulfilment of the Ninth Five-Year Plan is of crucial significance also for accomplishing the tasks facing us on the international scene. The successful achievement of the tasks of the Ninth Five-Year Plan will make this country still more powerful. This is a worthwhile task that deserves an all-out effort.

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet government I wholeheartedly congratulate the working people of Murmansk on their high award. I am confident that they will respond to this award with new splendid deeds and achieve new successes in economic and cultural development.

I wish you great success in your life and in your work for the benefit and further prosperity of this great socialist country.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!
Glory to the Soviet people!

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A Triumph for the Leninist Nationalities Policy

Excerpt from a report to a solemn meeting of personnel of the Committee for State Security under the USSR Council of Ministers on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the USSR, 20 December 1972

Comrades!

Today is the eve of a great red-letter day—the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. For the Soviet people this is a truly nationwide holiday, a holiday of friendship and fraternity of all nations of this country.

The formation of the multinational state of workers and peasants was the direct result of the Great October Socialist Revolution. For the first time in mankind's history different peoples formed a unity which granted them equal rights, secured the requisite conditions for their political, economic and cultural development, and led to the emergence of a united friendly family of all nations, large and small.

The Soviet people rightly regard the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the second most important event after the Great October Socialist Revolution, of historic significance for the destiny of this multinational country. Whereas the October Revolution ushered in the epoch of revolutionary transformation of the world and transition from capitalism to socialism, the formation of the USSR was the concrete embodiment of these revolutionary transformations in the field of the development of national statehood based on fraternal co-operation of peoples, on the unity of goals and interests of each of them, on their voluntary alliance.

The unity and friendship of the peoples of this country are one of the greatest achievements of socialism. They multiply the strength of

the peoples of this country in their constructive efforts and contribute to enhancing their creativity in building a new world. The formation of the USSR was of enormous significance not only for solving the nationalities problem. It has played an outstanding part in the historic destiny of this country and served as a crucial factor in strengthening its power and securing its prosperity, in increasing the influence of socialism on the entire course of world development.

Celebrating the 50th anniversary of the USSR we go back in our thoughts to the great Lenin. To him goes full credit for establishing our socialist multinational state. On the solid foundation of Marxism, the genius of Lenin made it possible to evolve a theory on the nationalities problem, to work out and to implement in practice a nationalities policy which has secured genuine equality of all nations, large and small, for the first time in mankind's history.

Progressive human thought had searched for centuries for ways of establishing equitable relations among nations based on equality. A realistic prospect of establishing such relations, however, opened up only when the proletariat inspired by the ideas of communism had come on the scene of the class struggle.

Marxism-Leninism has always regarded and regards the nationalities question as a major component of the revolutionary struggle and the construction of a new society. The Marxists proceed from the premise, corroborated by the realities of life, that ethnic oppression can be fully eradicated only after the victory of the working class in the course of its revolutionary struggle, only with the establishment of workers' and peasants' power, with the victory of socialism.

In mankind's history there have been quite a few state and political associations which united different peoples in one form or another. The exploiter classes often attempted to unite nations and national minorities under one crown or under one flag of the metropolitan country. Such associations, however, were based not on voluntary accord but on dictation of the strongest power. In the conditions of class antagonisms rending capitalist society apart, this could not be otherwise. Lenin pointed out that under capitalism ethnic and political oppression cannot be abolished in general. Hence the cardinal defect of such national state formations—they proved unstable

and short-lived, and disintegrated as a result of sociopolitical cataclysms.

Imperial Russia was a multinational state where especially cruel ethnic oppression reigned supreme. The nations and national minorities which constituted it were at different stages of development. The complex ethnic structure inherited from the past the actual inequality of nations, the consequences of ethnic and religious strife among peoples which had been fomented by tsarism—all these required of the Bolshevik Party (both in the years of the revolutionary struggle and after its coming to power) the most complete and thorough analysis of the ethnic problems in the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks.

Defining the place and role of the nationalities question in the revolutionary struggle, Lenin said: "The *bourgeoisie* invariably puts its national demands in the forefront. It does so unconditionally. For the proletariat they are subordinated to the interests of the class struggle."¹

The subordination of the nationalities question to the general social tasks of the revolution did not mean at all, nor does it mean today, that it is ignored or underestimated. On the contrary, the Soviet Union's historical experience has proved that the most correct and complete solution to the most complicated nationalities problems can be found only in the context of fulfilling the class tasks. Our Party saw the right path towards the victory of socialism not in renouncing national distinctions but in a correct and skilful combination of the working people's social and national interests.

Lenin saw the essence of a Marxist approach to the solution of the nationalities question in linking the revolutionary struggle for socialism to the struggle of the oppressed peoples for their national liberation.

The right of nations to self-determination down to secession and the formation of independent states became the fundamental principle of Lenin's programme on the nationalities question. That was Lenin's outstanding contribution to social science, a creative develop-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 25, p. 273.

ment of the main principles of scientific communism. That was an expression of Lenin's brilliant skill in using dialectics to accomplish revolutionary tasks. The Bolsheviks regarded the right to secession not as an end in itself but as the best way of removing mistrust among nations and creating on this basis the requisite conditions for their voluntary association and internationalist co-operation.

Lenin constantly underlined the need to draw a distinction between the right to secession and the political expediency of its practical implementation. "We have always advised and will always advise all oppressed classes of all oppressed countries, colonies in particular, not to secede from us but to draw to us as closely as possible and to unite with us."¹

The Party called on the working people of all nations for the closest internationalist unity, for a fraternal union and co-operation. This met the vital requirements of the revolutionary struggle developing in Russia at the time.

The enormous potential which was inherent in Lenin's interpretation of the nationalities question was fully revealed in the course of preparing and carrying out the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The revolution overthrew the rule of the capitalists and the rich landowners who exercised ethnic and colonial oppression. Russia's dependence on Western imperialism was also abolished. The world was waiting to see how the Bolsheviks would behave on the nationalities question after the conquest of power. The Soviet government's practical steps immediately showed that the Bolsheviks' words were not at odds with their deeds. The appeal "To the Workers, Soldiers and Peasants!" adopted by the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, which proclaimed the handover of all power to the Soviets, said that the Soviet government would "guarantee to all nations inhabiting Russia a genuine right to self-determination".²

The "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia", which

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 30, p. 120.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 35, p. 11.

proclaimed the equality and sovereignty of the peoples of the Soviet Republic, their right to self-determination down to secession and the formation of independent states, evoked great reverberations throughout the world.

In the early years of Soviet government the Russian Federation, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics and the Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic were proclaimed. A number of peoples chose autonomy as their system of government.

Representatives of the dislodged classes which had formerly ruled Russia and the international imperialist circles raised a hue and cry about the disintegration of the Soviet Republic. Actually, however, a qualitatively new socialist state without precedent in history came into being at that time.

It was a phenomenon paradoxical from the viewpoint of bourgeois politicians and ideologists: nations which had received an opportunity for self-determination did not secede from one another but, on the contrary, aspired for association and unity.

The correctness of Lenin's views and the wisdom of the Bolshevik Party's nationalities programme were brilliantly confirmed in practice. The abolition of ethnic oppression and the genuine liberation of nations gave, as Lenin had predicted, a powerful impetus to tendencies towards unification dictated by the working people's vital class interests, made their international solidarity a great force, and helped millions upon millions of workers and peasants to realize clearly that it was precisely their unity that was the guarantee of the implementation of their aspirations for social justice and national equality.

The principal mouthpiece of the tendency towards unification, the leading force in this process, was the working class; the main vehicle of socialist ideas, and the movement of nations for unification, was guided by the Communist Party, an international party in its composition, structure, ideology, policy, and practical activity.

The objective course of the development of the Soviet Republics dictated the need for their association in a close union. Such a union was needed, above all, for successful socialist construction, for the defence of the gains of socialism against imperialist aggression. The common goals and class nature of the Soviet Republics not only

generated the necessity of forming a common state union but also prepared a realistic foundation for it.

The problem was one of choosing the best form of a multinational Soviet state. That was the only correct solution found by Lenin. He put forward the idea of establishing a union of equal republics. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was that form of national state system searched for and found by the Bolshevik Party which ensured harmony between social and national interests, a successful realization of Lenin's idea of the unity and co-operation of nations in the struggle for socialism. It was precisely such a unity that provided the optimum possibilities to harmonize the interests of the whole society with the interests of each nation, the need for increasing unity between equal nations with the needs of their all-round development.

The 30th of December 1922 is a date which will remain in mankind's memory for ever. On that day plenipotentiary representatives of the Soviet Republics signed in Moscow the treaty on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This was followed by the opening of the First All-Union Congress of Soviets, which reviewed the results of the development of Soviet government over the five years of its history and discussed the question of the formation of the USSR. The Congress recognized the necessity of association of all equal and independent socialist republics in a single union state. The delegates to the Congress unanimously approved the Declaration and the Treaty on the Formation of the USSR and gave legislative form to the new state union of Soviet Republics.

The Declaration expressed firm confidence that the "new union state will be a worthy consummation of the principles of peaceful neighbourhood and fraternal co-operation of nations laid down as far back as October 1917".¹

The formation of the USSR was of enormous political significance for its impact on the country's socioeconomic and cultural development. For the first time in history our Party set and began to implement the task of achieving practical equality of nations. This idea of Lenin's formulated in resolutions of the Tenth Congress of the Soviet

¹ *The Constitution of the State of the Whole People*, Moscow, 1978, p. 213.

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Communist Party was a new major contribution to planning nationalities policy in the conditions of socialist construction.

That was a new and highly difficult task. It was necessary to abolish the actual inequality of nations in the economic, social and cultural fields, to overcome mistrust and alienation between them which had been implanted in the minds of men by the exploiter classes for centuries. It was necessary to do away with centuries-old prejudices and survivals in the minds of men which are particularly viable in the sphere of ethnic relations.

At all stages of socialist construction our Party paid keen attention to the interests of all-round development of this country's nations and national minorities. The Party invariably combined the fulfilment of the practical tasks of economic and cultural advancement of the national republics with the education of working people of all nationalities in the spirit of socialist community and concern for the interests of the entire Soviet state.

Today, on the eve of this splendid anniversary, the Soviet people proudly review the path they have traversed. The peoples of this country have learned from their own experience that their association in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has given them enormous opportunities for development at present and in the future. Where poverty and almost complete illiteracy had reigned supreme before the Revolution, a powerful industrial base, large-scale mechanized agriculture and advanced socialist culture have been created.

None of the handbooks published only fifty years ago contain data on power production in the Central Asian Republics. The reason is that the first power stations only began to be built there after the formation of the USSR. Today, however, the Central Asian Republics have a powerful power industry. This country's biggest Syr-Darya Thermal Electric Power Station is being built in Uzbekistan. Its capacity will be almost four times that of all power stations of Russia before the Revolution. Recently the Nurek Hydropower Station, the biggest in Central Asia, was commissioned in Tadzhikistan.

I have a good reason to refer precisely to these republics. Indeed, before the Revolution Central Asia and Kazakhstan were among the most backward regions even by the standards of Imperial Russia, which was a backward country on the whole. It is precisely in these

regions that the most spectacular economic transformations have taken place. Giant factories, the biggest irrigation systems, and ore mines have been built and vast tracts of virgin land have been brought under the plough there.

In 1906 the *Vestnik (Herald)* magazine acknowledged that with the rates prevailing at that time it would take 4600 years to eradicate illiteracy in the territory of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. As regards the percentage of persons with a higher education today, Soviet Central Asia has moved ahead of a number of countries of Western Europe and America. For the number of students enrolled in institutions of higher learning and secondary technical schools per 10,000 residents, the Uzbek Republic, for example, has outstripped the United States, Britain and France. Before the Revolution institutions of higher learning were non-existent not only in Central Asia but also in Byelorussia, Lithuania, Moldavia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Today facilities for training highly qualified personnel have been established, and large research and cultural centres have been set up in every republic.

The spectacular economic and cultural progress in areas which used to be a symbol of backwardness, illiteracy and rightlessness is striking evidence of the inexhaustible potentialities of socialism, its ability to resolve successfully and within a brief space of time such problems which are truly a stumbling block under capitalism.

The economy and culture are developing rapidly not only in the republics which were formerly Russia's backward areas but also in the republics which were at a higher level of development. For instance, since 1940 industrial production in Soviet Lithuania has grown 37 times, in Estonia 32 times, and in Latvia 31 times.

All these successes have been made possible by the enthusiastic work of the Soviet people and by the great friendship of Soviet nations. As a rule, giants of soviet industry were built in the past and are built today by the whole country. That was the case in the years of the early five-year plans when representatives of many towns and republics of this country took part in the construction of the Magnitogorsk iron-and-steel complex and the Dnieper Power Dam. This is also in evidence in our day: for example, the Volzhsky Car Factory in Togliatti has been built by members of over 80 nations and national minorities of this country.

The Soviet economy is not a simple arithmetic sum total of individual economic units but an integrated national economic complex. Such integration generates unprecedented acceleration in the development of each republic individually and the country as a whole. Constant consideration of both the common interests of all our Union and the interests of each of its constituent republics—such is the essence of the Party policy in national state development. This is why the Party invariably displays concern for the common interests of all Republics, works for the solution of economic, social, cultural, military and other tasks within the framework and on the scope of the whole country as a single and indissoluble whole.

To sum up in brief the results of the Party's activities in the field of national development, the following should be pointed out in the first place: in the sociopolitical field class and ethnic oppression has been fully abolished, the equality of all peoples has been established in all fields of social life, new, socialist nations and national minorities have formed and firmly united in a single state—the USSR; in the economic field highly advanced industry and large-scale mechanized agriculture have been built in all Union Republics on the basis of socialist relations of production, the powerful Soviet economy has been created; in the ideological field the Marxist-Leninist world outlook has achieved unchallenged primacy, which is a triumph of the ideas of friendship among nations over the ideas of chauvinism and nationalism, the internationalist convictions have become firmly implanted in the minds of Soviet citizens; in the cultural field unprecedented progress has been achieved in all national cultures, in the spiritual development of all nations and national minorities of the USSR, common Soviet culture, socialist in content and national in form, has been created.

Thus we have every reason to say that the nationalities question in the form we inherited from the past and in the form it exists in capitalist states where it remains one of the most acute and dangerous problems has been fully and finally resolved in this country. This is the legitimate result of building socialism in the USSR and of implementing the Leninist nationalities policy.

At present the Soviet people's effort and all of the Party's activities are directed to fulfilling the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. A great programme of economic, social and cultural development has

been outlined. In the current five-year plan period over 500,000 million roubles is to be earmarked for capital investments. This figure determines the gigantic scope of our growth and shows the great perspectives opening up before us.

Over the first two years of the five-year plan this country has made a long step forward in developing and consolidating the socialist economy, in building up the material and technological basis for communism, and in advancing the material well-being and cultural standards of the people.

Of course, we still have shortcomings and weak spots in economic development. However, as far as the character of our development as a whole and its main tendencies are concerned they are keynoted by dynamic and consistent efforts to resolve the tasks outlined.

The continued all-round development of each of the Soviet sister Republics, the gradual consolidation of the unity of nations and national minorities, are a component part of the programme of communist construction outlined in the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. This process, just as any social process, develops dialectically, through a struggle of the new against the old, and requires purposeful activity on the part of the Party and people. General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev said in this context: "It is necessary to keep within the field of vision all processes and tendencies in this field, to study them, to draw the necessary practical conclusions, to perfect the concrete economic and political forms of fraternal co-operation among Soviet nations."¹

The Soviet government has done much for the development of the nations and national minorities which were backward in the past, for levelling up their economic and cultural standards. However, there are a number of objective circumstances by virtue of which the distinctions in this field still persist in one form or another. For instance, there are differences between the natural climatic conditions in a number of Union Republics. They, however, are of major significance for the development of industry and especially of agriculture. Take another question. We have nations whose culture dates back thousands of years. There are also nations and ethnic minorities

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and articles*, vol. 2, p. 536.

which acquired their alphabet only after the advent of Soviet government. These discrepancies of historical origin have largely been overcome, but they have not yet ceased to exist, and they influence to a certain extent the general process of cultural development.

The complexity of the problems which have to be resolved on this path is attributable to the scope and profundity of the tasks in economic and social development. On the one hand, it is associated with the need to overcome manifestations of the old traditions and psychology inherited from the past in the field of interethnic relations. These relations are in general one of the most complex phenomena in social life.

Socialism still encounters such a survival of the past as nationalistic prejudices. They stem basically from the burden of the past, the political immaturity of some people, their allegiance to obsolete traditions and their inability to make out correctly the essentials of social phenomena. Nor should one ignore the fact that our class enemies are also making fairly great efforts to revive nationalistic prejudices in the minds and behaviour of people. They regard nationalism as the most effective weapon in the ideological struggle. Imperialism relies on it in its attempts to cause "erosion" of the socialist system.

The close union and fraternal friendship of nations make it possible to overcome successfully the negative consequences associated with manifestations of survivals of the past, the uneven development of different aspects of social life, the lag of the consciousness of individuals behind the general level of socioeconomic development. This is precisely what accounts for the great strength of the union of equal fraternal republics.

The Soviet state ensures the balanced development of all Republics, rendering them effective assistance. The Soviet machinery of state is adapted to the fulfilment of these tasks. The USSR Supreme Soviet, which is the supreme body of state power, consists, as is known, of two equal chambers. The duties of the Soviet of Nationalities imply special concern for the needs and interests of individual nations and national minorities.

In the process of socialist construction a new historical community of men—the Soviet people—has taken shape in this country. New,

harmonious relations between classes and social groups, between nations and national minorities, have emerged in the process of joint work, in the struggle for socialism, in battles to defend it.

Proletarian internationalism, the principles of friendship and co-operation of nations, are also expressed in Soviet foreign policy. The problems of further consolidation and development of the world socialist system—the main anti-imperialist force, the bulwark of peace and social progress—have always been and are now in the focus of attention of our Party. Jointly with the fraternal socialist countries, the Soviet Union is coming out in the world arena as a force firmly and consistently pursuing a policy of peace and friendship, upholding the Leninist principles of the equality of nations, and resolutely opposing all forms of ethnic oppression.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are rendering political, economic and military aid to the peoples fighting against imperialism for their national independence and social progress.

In relation to the capitalist countries we pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence. This policy meets with understanding and approval of the peoples. It answers the vital interests of all working people, who desire peace and social progress.

All foreign policy efforts of the Soviet Union are aimed at securing favourable conditions abroad for solving the tasks of communist construction at home.

We acknowledge with satisfaction that the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress is being successfully translated into reality. In recent times a certain relaxation of international tensions was achieved and the positions of the nations of the socialist community on the international scene have been consolidated considerably. They have scored important successes in their struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism, in supporting the peoples fighting for their independence and social progress.

However, much has still to be done to overcome finally all the consequences of the Cold War. The nature of imperialism has not changed, it has not given up its struggle against the socialist world, although it has been forced to retreat, to change its tactics and methods of this struggle.

All this, as the Party indicates, requires further mobilization of all

progressive forces in the struggle to ensure peace and the security of nations.

Whatever aspect of our social development we may look at—economic, political, or ideological—we can see the fruitful results of the fraternal co-operation of all nations and peoples. This co-operation has been an important factor in building developed socialist society in this country. Strengthening and developing it, the Soviet Union is confidently advancing along the path towards communism.

"The programme of communist construction advanced by the Communist Party", Leonid Brezhnev has said, "has become a vital cause for the entire Soviet people. The unity of the Party and people under the banner of Leninism is the best guarantee that this historic task will be successfully fulfilled."¹

Half a century ago, when the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed, the newspaper *Pravda* wrote: "Let there be a faster march of years, those wonderful steps of history which we climb on our way into a new world. It is with joy that we plunge ourselves into the sea of the future where many of us are destined to vanish but where our class will win, a class which used to be a slave and which is now going to lead mankind."²

Today we can see from the summits of our progress what great faith and tremendous revolutionary enthusiasm inspired our people embarking on the construction of socialism, how selflessly they worked to prepare themselves for the class battles.

We are proud to know that the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party have staunchly preserved their faith in their righteous cause, their inexhaustible thirst for constructive work, their indomitable will for victory over their class enemies through all the past five decades and are now marching with a confident step towards the triumph of communism.

Long live the multinational Soviet people, a nation of workers and fighters!

Long live the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee leading us to the radiant summits of communism!

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and articles*, vol. 2, pp. 583–584.

² *Pravda*, 3 January 1923.

The Friendship of Soviet Nations—the Inexhaustible Source of Our Victories

Report at a joint solemn meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia and the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR on the occasion of the decoration of the Republic with the Order of Friendship of Peoples and of the City of Tallinn with the Order of Lenin, 27 December 1973

Dear comrades!

Today the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic is to be presented with the Order of Friendship of Peoples, and the City of Tallinn with the Order of Lenin.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet government I cordially congratulate you on these high awards. They are a token of recognition of the great contributions of the Republic and its capital to communist construction, to developing friendship and fraternal co-operation among Soviet nations, to strengthening the Soviet state. At the same time, this is a recognition of the contribution to the common cause for the benefit of this socialist country made by each of you, every working man and woman of Soviet Estonia.

Estonia is one of the Soviet Union's young republics. The Soviet people remember, however, that the socialist revolution began here on 7 November 1917 just as in Petrograd.

From the very first steps of the revolution our peoples were con-

fronted by the most complicated social and national tasks. The whole world was waiting to see how the Bolsheviks would behave after the conquest of power, whether they would be able to harmonize the right of nations to self-determination they had proclaimed with the slogan of unity of workers of the world.

For centuries the best minds of mankind had searched for ways towards a happy life of the nations, towards just and equal relations among them. It was only the communists, however, that indicated the right way. They brought together the revolutionary struggle to build a new society with the struggle of the oppressed peoples for their national liberation.

Apologists of the *bourgeoisie* proclaimed upon the house-tops that the Bolsheviks were unable to resolve the nationalities problem. At the same time they referred to the fact that the Leninist Party frankly spoke of the subordination of the nationalities problem to the general social tasks of the revolution. This presentation of the question, however, by no means signified an under-estimation of the nationalities problem. The Soviet Union's historical experience has graphically confirmed the correctness of Lenin's ideas. It is only in the context of fulfilling the class tasks of the socialist revolution that the most correct and complete solution to the complicated nationalities problem can be found. As Marx and Engels had predicted, the victory of socialism has done away with hostility between nations along with the abolition of the antagonisms between classes inside nations.

The enemies of the Soviet state expected that the centrifugal forces of nationalism would prevail over the ideas of internationalism. Contrary to their expectations, however, a qualitatively new socialist statehood emerged from the ruins of the former tsarist empire. The revolutionary ideas helped millions of workers and peasants to realize that unity of their forces was the guarantee that their dreams of social justice and national equality would come true.

In their message of January 1918 the Estonian communists said: "Not secession from Russia but the closest and fraternal union with the working people of Russia—such is . . . our slogan.

"The workers' revolution has united us with Russia's working people. . . .

"The working people in town and country must not forget, not for

a moment, that they are members of the international family of workers."¹

The working people of Estonia were loyal to this impassioned appeal through all the hard years of revolutionary struggle.

The imperialist world opposed the victory of the revolution in Russia with bayonets, not in a figurative but in the literal sense of the word. Military intervention, blockade, blackmail—everything was put into action so as to tighten the noose on the neck of the socialist revolution. International imperialism in collusion with the domestic counter-revolution strangled Soviet government in Estonia at that time. It was incorporated into the capitalist system. But what were the consequences of that for Estonia and its working people?

The two decades of bourgeois government in Estonia were an ugly period of the domination of political reaction, the suffering of the working people, the country's conversion into an agrarian and raw materials appendage of the capitalist market. Under the government of the *bourgeoisie* and rich landowners, Estonia shared the fate of the small countries "politically, formally independent", in Lenin's phrase, "but in fact entangled in the spiderweb of financial and diplomatic dependence".²

The imperialist powers attempted to use Estonia and other Baltic countries for the so-called *cordon sanitaire* against the Soviet Union.

The Estonian people, however, had their say. They resolutely declared what path they were determined to follow. Soviet Estonia voluntarily joined the friendly family of Soviet republics. That secured for the Estonian people defence of their national interests and the successful solution of their vital sociopolitical problems. The accession of the young Baltic republics to the Soviet Union augmented in its turn the strength and potentialities of the Soviet people.

The friendship of Soviet nations forcefully expressed itself in the years of the Second World War. The plans of the enemies to drive a

¹ *The Great October Socialist Revolution in Estonia. Collected documents and materials*, Tallinn, 1958, pp. 397, 398.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 27, p. 383.

wedge between socialist nations, to disunite them, burst like a soap bubble. Nazi Germany was routed. All the peoples of the USSR contributed to victory. Twenty-one thousand Estonians were decorated by the government for their heroism and valour in the war against the Nazi invaders. The high title of Hero of the Soviet Union was conferred on thirteen Estonians. The Soviet people sacredly revere the memory of servicemen who laid down their lives for victory in the war.

The Soviet people have lived in peace for more than three decades. Their constructive work has lent still greater strength to the internationalist ties between all nations and national minorities of the Soviet Union, which we rightly call the Leninist friendship of nations.

From all their life experience the Soviet nations have drawn the conclusion that their cohesion in the fraternal union of socialist republics secures favourable conditions for their development in all fields of political, economic and cultural life. It is only under socialism, in the friendly family of Soviet nations, that the true potentialities of the Estonian working people have been brought into play. Suffice it to say that today the Republic's industrial output is 34 times that of 1940.

It is for good reason that we turn primarily to the economy to describe the results of our progress. Indeed, the economy is the material basis for Soviet society's successful advance towards communism.

The achievements of every republic are at the same time the common property of the Soviet people. It is with legitimate pride that we review the results of the work carried out in the third year of the five-year plan. The current year is distinctive for us. It has become the decisive year in our struggle to fulfil the five-year plan as a whole.

As you know, the recent plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee held in December 1973 discussed in comprehensive detail the results of Soviet economic development and plans of further progress in this field. At the meeting Leonid Brezhnev thoroughly analysed the Party's activities, the Soviet people's constructive efforts in the current five-year plan period. He put forward fundamental ideas concerning the ways and means of economic development, the fulfilment of the assignments of the five-year plan, the continued

advancement of the economy, the material and cultural standards of life of this country's working people.

You know that last year was a very difficult one for our economy. The Party outlined timely and effective measures to improve economic management. It took vigorous steps to find an effective solution to the problems plaguing the economy, to overcome shortcomings. These measures helped preserve the high economic growth rates. For the Party, local government and economic bodies this year has been a gruelling test. And now we have full reason to claim that we have passed this test with flying colours. Such is the main political result of the Party's work.

The selfless efforts of the people, the political and organizing activities of the Party have made it possible not only to attain the plan targets but also to surpass them. For instance, industrial production developed at a higher rate than planned. It has grown 7.3 per cent as against 5.8 per cent envisaged in the plan. Over 7000 million roubles' worth of produce has been turned out over and above the plan.

You know, however, that for society it is important not only to produce a certain quantity of goods but also to do it at minimum costs. This is why in the current five-year plan special attention is given to advancing the efficiency of social production, to stepping up the rates of scientific and technological progress. Significantly, the increase in the productivity of labour accounts for four-fifths of the entire increment in industrial output.

Soviet farmers have achieved outstanding success this year. They have gathered a bumper grain and cotton harvest. There has been an increase in the output of other products as well. What has made these record results possible? Perhaps only favourable weather conditions? No, these successes cannot be attributed to good weather alone. Incidentally, in many areas of the country the weather by no means helped us. The main thing is that now the measures taken by the Party to reinforce the material and technological basis for agriculture, to improve its organization are yielding a steadily growing effect.

Economic development is not an end in itself. Our Party invariably regards industrial and agricultural growth as the basis for improving the life of the Soviet people. It can be stated with full reason that on this plane the assignments of the five-year plan are being fulfilled

consistently and purposefully. The earnings of one in every three factory and office workers have increased. *Per capita* real income has grown roughly by 13.5 per cent. More than 11 million people have improved their housing conditions during the current year alone.

The working people of Estonia have also made their contribution to fulfilling the assignments of the five-year plan. The face of your Republic's economy is its modern power industry, chemical industry, precision machine-building, and electronics. The establishment of the most up-to-date industries has been made possible by large investments made by the state. Today the Republic produces every ten days more industrial goods than it manufactured in 1940. In 1973 the workers of industry assumed high socialist pledges to fulfil their plans ahead of schedule. Yesterday they completed their assignments for the total volume of industrial product sales and for the production of key items. No praise is too high for your selfless work.

Estonian crop farmers and stock breeders have considerably increased marketable surpluses. Although today manpower employed in the Republic's agriculture is equivalent to only one third of that in 1940, the output of farm produce is greater by 50 per cent.

For centuries Estonian peasants had cursed stones and swamps which interfered with agriculture. They had struggled against them with pick and shovel throughout their lives. Today the Soviet state has put at the disposal of Estonian working people modern machinery which has enabled successful reclamation of large tracts of land.

The crews of the Republic's fleet of fishing trawlers have also come up with a good record this year.

By their work the Soviet people have gained the necessary foothold for successful fulfilment of their tasks in the remaining two years of the five-year plan. There is no need to cite concrete targets from the national economic plan for 1974 adopted by the recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. You know them well. Thinking of these figures and comparing them with the rate of our development in the past one feels profound satisfaction and pride: within only one year the Soviet people can cope with gigantic tasks that would have taken years to fulfil formerly.

We have already put in a great deal of work but much still remains to be done. At the home stretch it is necessary to exert all our

strength and potentials. This is why the Party appeals for all-round development of the creativity and initiative of the masses for dissemination of progressive experience and for a struggle against lingering shortcomings. Indeed, in the final analysis, success will depend on the performance results of every labour collective, every Soviet citizen.

The Party's appeal for an all-out effort to fulfil and over-fulfil the assignments of the fourth year of the five-year plan has evoked enthusiastic response among the working people in town and country. A socialist emulation drive has been launched throughout the country, and the numbers of communist shock workers are growing. This movement of millions of people embodies such remarkable features as fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance characteristic of the Soviet way of life. These features are inherent not only in individual labour collectives. They exemplify the entire system of mutual relations between the Union Republics, the entire process of communist construction. The Soviet Union takes pride in the labour exploits of its workers and collective farmers, in the spectacular achievements of scientists, engineers and technicians of all Soviet republics. And small wonder. Each of them contributes by his work to the achievement of common national tasks, to strengthening the economic foundation of the union and brotherhood of Soviet nations.

We have no other sources but labour for advancing the welfare of the people. This is why shock work for the benefit of Soviet society is so highly valued in this country. This is why those who perform labour exploits are entitled to honours and respect. The Soviet people know well the names of many Estonian men and women who have come forward as initiators of the socialist emulation drive. Among them are Heroes of Socialist Labour Alfred Waldov, a marketers' team leader at the Tallinn engineering plant; Aksel Pertel, a team leader at the "Estonslanets" shale-mining complex; Ruppert Kaik, an instructor engine driver at the Tallinn locomotive yard; Zinaida Agafonova, a weaver at the "Baltiiskaya Manufaktura" textile factory; Friedrich Tamm, captain of a fishing trawler; Oscar Kjais, a tractor driver; Tomas Soosaluste, a state farm director, to mention but a few.

We also owe our profound thanks to workers of the public

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education and public health services, scientists and engineers, members of the literary and artistic community of the Republic. Their work benefits all Soviet nations. Such remarkable masters of Estonian art as Georg Ots and Tiit Kuuzik enjoy nationwide renown. The Soviet readership admires the works of Juhan Smuul, Augustus Jacobson, Egon Rannet, and many other Estonian authors.

The process of consolidation of national cultures in which they draw ever closer together by no means leads to their levelling to monotony, as various western bourgeois "Sovietologists" are vainly trying to prove. Soviet socialist culture develops as a multi-national culture and at the same time it is profoundly internationalist in its basic essence. It absorbs the progressive features and traditions from the folk art of each of the fraternal nations, the finest fruits of their creativity.

I realize, of course, that today's festive event is not the best occasion for a discussion of shortcomings. However, we communists are loyal to Lenin's behest: to be intolerant of self-complacency and to remember about unresolved problems during holidays as well. Another reason why this subject should be touched upon is that some of the negative symptoms which are in evidence in the Republic's economy are causing surprise, to put it mildly.

Over the period of eleven months in 1973 twenty-six enterprises have failed to cope with their assignments for labour productivity growth. Much working time is still being wasted at a number of enterprises. This is hard to explain, since Estonians have always been known as hard-working people remarkable for their organization, discipline and persistence.

Nor can one reconcile oneself to the fact that the plan for commissioning basic productive facilities had been fulfilled by only 63 per cent towards December. Or let us take housing construction. Our goal is to provide good housing conditions for every family. How does it happen that in your republic one third of the work under the annual plan for commissioning new housing is handled during the last month of the year? Indeed, this gives rise to last-minute rush work and naturally adversely affects the standards of construction.

As you see, the Party, local government, trade union and YCL organizations have much to work upon. The chances to bring into full

play the gigantic creative forces inherent in Soviet socialist society largely depend on their skill and persistence in implementing ideological education and organizing work.

There is no doubt that the working people of Estonia will attain the targets of the five-year plan. You have raised remarkable people, veritable makers of a new life. The Estonian communists have gained vast experience in guiding political, economic and cultural development. They have on their record the battles of the October Revolution, the grim years of the underground, the heroic fight against the Nazis for the freedom and independence of our Motherland. Service of the great ideas of communism, the vital interests of the people has invariably been and is their lofty goal.

The Soviet people are looking ahead with confidence. Our communist optimism rests on the great vital force of Marxism-Leninism, on the creativity of the masses. The guarantee of our success is in the fact that the advance towards communism is spearheaded by the battle-hardened Leninist Party equipped with knowledge of the laws of social development. Under its leadership the Soviet Union's working people have built developed socialist society and are now making steady progress along the path towards communism. The Soviet people proudly call our Party their honour, conscience and wisdom. In all our accomplishments the Soviet people see the guiding activities of the Leninist Central Committee, its Politbureau, the indefatigable work of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev.

Our achievements, the experience of socialist and communist construction in the USSR have become the internationalist property of the entire world socialist system, the entire international communist movement. Lenin said in his time: "No force in the world, however much evil, misfortune and sufferings it may yet bring to millions and hundreds of millions of people will take back the main achievements of our revolution, because they are no longer 'our own' but world-historic achievements".¹

The fulfilment of economic and cultural development plans is inseparably linked with the consistent struggle waged by the Soviet

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 45, pp. 136-137.

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Union to implement the foreign policy charted by the 24th CPSU Congress. This refers to the efforts to strengthen peace and avert the threat of world thermonuclear war. This also involves the efforts to provide the most favourable conditions for communist construction in this country, for developing the struggle for socialism and progress throughout the world.

It was but recently that the world froze from the chills and blizzards of the Cold War. It cast its gloomy shadow on all corners of the world. The strategy of a peace offensive by our Party and country and the entire socialist community of nations has brought about a marked improvement in the political climate, yielded real, tangible fruit.

What is the main trend in the development of present-day international relations as we see it? It is above all the current visible turn from military confrontation to a relaxation of tensions, to greater security and peaceful co-operation. This turn has been made possible by a change in the alignment of forces in favour of socialism. This change is the direct result of the growth and consolidation of the power of the Soviet Union, the other countries of the socialist community, all revolutionary forces of today.

Never before has Soviet foreign policy been so effective or produced so significant results over such a short period of time. As you know, Leonid Brezhnev's visit to socialist countries, to the United States, the German Federal Republic and France have greatly contributed to achieving these results. The recent Soviet-Indian top-level talks and the documents signed in the process are also a practical realization of the aims and tasks formulated in the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress. These visits and all foreign policy activities of our Party have had the result that the international situation today is taking shape largely under the impact of the Soviet Union's peace initiatives.

The Soviet Union acts on the international scene in close co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries. Our Party sees its prime internationalist duty in strengthening in every way the positions of world socialism, the unity of the socialist states, friendship and all-round co-operation with them. Relations between the fraternal countries in the political, economic and cultural fields are steadily widening and become more diversified. The practical

implementation of the programme of socialist economic integration has got under way. The combat alliance embodied in the Warsaw Treaty Organization is also growing stronger.

We are satisfied to know that the aggression in Vietnam has been ended. Favourable changes have taken place in Soviet relations with the Western countries. At the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe concrete work is under way to draw up measures to secure lasting peace in the continent. In other words, problems on which no progress could practically be achieved earlier are being resolved today.

The entire course of international developments is furnishing conclusive evidence that the Party has worked out a correct foreign policy line, the only right line under present conditions.

While acknowledging the existence of favourable trends in international affairs, we by no means shut our eyes to the dangerous actions of aggressive imperialist circles. The enemies of *détente*, who cannot think otherwise than in terms of military confrontation, are active in the capitalist states to this day. Reactionary forces, who are advocating a continued arms race in defiance of the aspirations of the peoples, still wield considerable influence in the West. As Leonid Brezhnev has pointed out, "all these protagonists of the Cold War have a common platform, which is opposition to steps in the direction of peace and greater international co-operation. We must maintain vigilance in relation to their intrigues."¹

The timeliness of this warning has been confirmed by the recent events in the Middle East. As you know, the Middle East conflict has been in evidence for a quarter of a century now. It is being kept up by the stubborn refusal of the Israeli extremists supported by imperialist forces to abandon their aggressive ambitions and recognize the lawful rights of the Arab peoples. The activities of the Tel Aviv "hawks", just as the most rabid Zionist circles outside Israel, meet with increasing denunciation and opposition all over the world. The Soviet Union's position on this issue is clear. It is one of consistent support

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and articles*, Moscow, 1974, vol. 4, p. 249.

for the Arab peoples in their just struggle against Israeli aggression. The Soviet Union comes out for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Arab lands occupied in 1967 and for securing the lawful rights of the states and peoples of this region, including the Arab people of Palestine. Only on this basis can a just and lasting peace settlement be achieved in the Middle East.

The situation developing in Indochina also merits attention. It is aggravated primarily by the sabotage of the Paris agreements by reactionary, aggressive forces. They have recently stepped up their attempts to change in their favour the balance of forces in South Vietnam. In this situation the patriotic forces are giving a rebuff to the armed provocations of the Saigon administration.

The tragic events in Chile are another illustration of the subversive operations of the enemies of peace and democracy. The military junta, using fascist methods, is flagrantly trampling on the elementary human rights and perpetrating bloody massacres of Chilean patriots. The Soviet people wrathfully condemn these crimes of reaction and express their solidarity with the struggle of Chile's democratic forces.

Needless to say, the process of relaxation of international tensions does not imply a cessation of the class struggle in the international arena. Imperialism is adapting to the new situation in the world and trying to exploit it in its class interests. It is attempting to intensify its "ideological infiltration" of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in particular. In these plans not the least role is assigned to the emigrant nationalistic rabble. The aims of such actions are to induce manifestations of nationalism, to achieve an "erosion" of socialist society. Under the hypocritical slogan of "defence of human rights" some circles in the West are seeking to gain a right to interference in our domestic affairs, to conducting subversive activities in the socialist countries. We must tell such politicians outright: "It won't work!" We are in favour of an exchange of cultural values. We have much to share with others, much to show them. However, we resolutely oppose and will oppose in the future any attempt to use such exchanges in contravention of our laws and traditions.

We have to acknowledge with regret that the current activities of China's leadership in the world arena are linking up even more

closely with the efforts of imperialist reaction. The Chinese leaders have taken a stand against *détente* and are clamouring for "colossal upheavals in the world". Contrary to truth they are talking about the alleged "Soviet threat" and fomenting great-power nationalistic psychosis in China. The Soviet people reject this crude slander on their country. The USSR has never threatened and is not threatening China, nor does it make any claims to her territory. While upholding resolutely the integrity of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the interests of our socialist country, the CPSU and the Soviet government invariably come out for normalizing relations with the PRC, for restoring good-neighbourliness and friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

Today we have full reason to say that neither the military industrial complexes of the West nor the intrigues of the Maoists determine the trends of international development. The main trail of history is being blazed by the forces of peace, progress and socialism. The peace offensive of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is developing successfully. The effectiveness of Soviet foreign policy stems from its faithful expression of the objective laws of world development. This policy meets the vital interests of the Soviet people and the working people in all countries. In the struggle against imperialism for lasting peace and security we come out jointly with the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, with all fighters for freedom and social progress.

The World Congress of Peace Forces held in Moscow recently was a striking illustration of the broad recognition of and support for the Soviet foreign policy line. This wide and prestigious forum, which was attended by representatives of political parties of various orientations, trade union, women's, youth and other public organizations, demonstrated the growing activity of all peace forces.

The Soviet Union has scored great successes in achieving its internal and international tasks. Entering the new year 1974 we proudly review the record of our achievements. It is indisputable that the peoples of this socialist country, led by the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee, will make new spectacular progress in communist construction.

Allow me to announce the decree of the Presidium of the USSR

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Supreme Soviet on the decoration of the Estonian SSR.

I congratulate you once again on your high awards and wish you new successes in your work for the benefit of the entire Soviet people.

Long live the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic!

May the unbreakable friendship of Soviet nations grow stronger!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

The Unity and Cohesion of the Soviet People

Speech to the Kashira District electorate on the occasion of nomination for election to the USSR Supreme Soviet, 6 June 1974

Dear comrades!

I avail myself of this opportunity to express my sincere thanks and heartfelt gratitude to this audience and all voters of the Kashira District for the high honour you have accorded me by nominating me for a second time for election to the USSR Supreme Soviet. As a communist I regard this fact as an expression of trust in the Communist Party, its Leninist Central Committee and the Politbureau headed by General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev.

No honour is higher than that of being an elected representative of the people, of pursuing the Party line, of expressing the Party's will in the struggle for the interests of the people, for the triumph of the great cause of communist construction bequeathed to us by the great Lenin.

The Soviet people have arrived at the next election to the Supreme Soviet with a proud record of great accomplishments made under the Party's leadership. They are working selflessly to fulfil the tasks set by the 24th CPSU Congress, which formulated on scientific lines a concrete programme of communist construction.

There is every reason for saying that the plans outlined by the Congress have met with truly nationwide support and are being successfully translated into reality.

The Soviet Union, which is one of the world's largest states, is developing as an integral living organism. Millions of Soviet citizens inspired by the Party and united by its iron will are working for their common cause in various parts of the country. They are smelting

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steel, ploughing the land, building new machines with clear awareness of the fact that all this is needed for building a new life in a new communist society we have been making for half a century, a society we are determined to create by all means.

This country today is on the march. Two-thirds of the five-year plan have been fulfilled. We are now in its most important phase crucial to its successful completion. The rapid growth of the economy and the advancement of the Soviet people's welfare—the key tasks of the current five-year plan—are clearly visible.

The Soviet people have a special calendar of their own—the calendar of the five-year plans. The very term "five-year plan" has assumed special significance in their minds. Each of them is a page in the history of the struggle to advance the Soviet economy and culture, a new stage in Soviet society's progress towards communism. The Soviet five-year plans are not only economic categories. They are also lofty moral and political categories which embody the utmost selflessness, revolutionary activity, and communist convictions of the builders of socialism of all generations.

The Ninth Five-Year Plan is a logical continuation of the Soviet people's constructive efforts in the preceding period. At the same time, it has its specific features, a characteristic image so to say. These are primarily the gigantic scope of the tasks to be accomplished, the wide front of work to be performed, and the emphasis on the qualitative aspects of our activity dictated by the scientific and technological revolution. The plan shows our Party and government's special concern for accelerated advancement of the Soviet people's standards of living.

As is known, the last leg in a race requires the greatest exertion. Our five-year plan has been drawn up with due regard for the real possibilities available and provides for optimum rates of advance at each stage. Nevertheless, the last third of the path that remains to be covered to attain the targets set by the 24th CPSU Congress is particularly important and responsible. This is why the current year 1974 is called a decisive stage in the plan.

The results of the current year will largely determine the final results we shall come up with towards the end of the five-year plan period. The economic growth rates set for the current year are higher

than those in last year's plan. It will take considerable exertion of all forces to fulfil this year's plan. Moreover, it is not enough to fulfil the plan for 1974; it is mandatory to overfulfil it considerably.

This path of active efforts, mobilization of all forces and reserves available is the only right way to follow. It is a perfectly feasible way, since it is based on the solid foundation of our achievements over the last three and a half years of the five-year plan.

The increment in industrial production over the first four months of this year is 8.7 per cent larger than it was in the corresponding period of last year. This means that the rates of increment are higher than planned. This year's plan envisages a 6.8 per cent increment in industrial output. Of course, it is now too early to forecast the final results of the year. It can be safely said, however, that in industry a secure foothold is being gained for fulfilling the annual assignments ahead of schedule.

In the current year great tasks are facing the industries of your areas, which, as is known, contribute appreciably to the total industrial output of your region.

The bumper harvest of 1973 has made it possible to offset the adverse effects of the crop failures of 1972. This success is the result of the Party's policy in the field of agriculture, of measures to reinforce the material and technological facilities of the collective and state farms, and to stimulate the labour enthusiasm of the masses.

You know from your own experience that in the current year spring sowing had to be carried out under unfavourable weather conditions. We are confident, however, that if sufficient efforts are applied, a bumper crop will again be gathered this year.

I have already said that the present Ninth Five-Year Plan is remarkable for its great scope and powerful productive forces. The tasks we are now handling are truly gigantic. New enterprises equipped with the most advanced technology are being built throughout the country. Work is under way to develop enormous oil and gas fields in Siberia, which were formerly inaccessible. A sweeping programme of further development of agriculture in the Non-Black Earth Belt has been put into action. It has been rightly called a second "virgin land development area". The aim of this programme is to advance considerably the productive forces of agriculture in the

Soviet Union's heartland. Or take the construction of the Baikal-Amur Railway. It is of crucial importance for the national economy. Indeed, it is not simply another 3000 kilometres of rail tracks. It is above all a way towards developing the veritable treasure trove of natural wealth of the vast Trans-Baikal and Far East areas and establishing a new base of Soviet industry there.

Large-scale construction work is in progress on the bank of the Kama where one of the world's biggest motorworks is being built. It will manufacture heavy-duty lorries. Measures are being planned to set up a great fuel and energy complex in East Siberia. All these are factors that account for what is not simply a quantitative increment in this country's economic potential but also a qualitative change in the Soviet economy, making it more efficient, powerful and dynamic.

The rapid development of industry and agriculture enables us to implement consistently the task which the 24th CPSU Congress defined as the central one—the steady advancement of the Soviet people's living standards. There is every reason to say that appreciable progress has been achieved in this field as well. One in every three factory and office workers has been granted a pay rise. Pensions, allowances and scholarships have been increased over the last three and a half years. There has been a sizeable growth of the social consumption funds.

All these measures have benefited scores of millions of Soviet citizens.

This country, as before, is unmatched for the scope of housing construction. Today we are building more apartments than the United States and than Britain, France, West Germany, and Italy combined. In the current year over 300,000 square metres of housing is commissioned every day. Since the last elections to the Supreme Soviet a total of over 45 million Soviet citizens have moved into new apartments. This figure is comparable to the population of a large country.

However, nobody claims that the housing problem has been completely resolved. A housing shortage still exists, and citizens, in the Kashira district in particular, are making reasonable complaints about it. The Party and government clearly realize the importance of this problem, and for this reason, as you can see for yourselves, the

rates of housing construction are invariably kept high.

While appraising the present record of achievements as indisputably commendable, the Party at the same time keeps its eyes open to unresolved problems interfering with our progress. This approach is exemplified by the December 1973 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. Speaking at the meeting, Leonid Brezhnev strongly emphasized the need to improve the style of work in all sectors of the economy, the standards of planning, the quality of products and the efficiency of social production as a whole. Concrete measures are being drawn up and implemented to fulfil the decisions taken by the plenary meeting.

We are building communism, the best organized society mankind has ever known. It is being built by hard-working, conscientious and ideologically dedicated people. For Soviet citizens work has become a matter of conscious duty, assuming the character of general political activity of national significance. For the first time in thousands of years people in this country are working for themselves. Wherever he may work, a Soviet citizen knows that he is contributing to the common cause of communist construction. This realization of their involvement in the accomplishment of general national tasks makes every Soviet man and woman an active fighter for communism. The work of Soviet citizens for themselves, for the benefit of society, is based on the principle: "Each for all, and all for each."

The questions advanced to the forefront now are those of raising the efficiency of social production, applying the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution in practice, strengthening discipline, encouraging a conscious attitude to work on the part of every factory worker and collective farmer.

The Party calls on the Soviet people to lend still wider scope to the socialist emulation drive, to produce goods in larger quantities, of better quality, and at lesser cost. The socialist emulation drive is a movement requiring enthusiasm and creativity of the masses. It is intolerant of inertness and formalism. Sometimes, nevertheless, the winners of emulation contests are in the limelight, while the losers are known as glib talkers when making pledges. When the results of a contest are reviewed, however, they prefer to keep a low profile. A labour collective ought not only to know and praise its members who

work for all they are worth but also to call to account those who work half-heartedly, failing to live up to their own commitments and letting their workmates down.

Lenin strongly insisted that "a class-conscious worker should be aware of himself not only as master of his factory but also as a representative of his country cognisant of his responsibility."¹

This is a matter of urgency today as well. The Party, government, YCL, trade union and other public organizations are constantly at work in order to have this Leninist principle fully applied in practice. The Party seeks to educate all working people as class-conscious fighters for communism.

Every worker must feel responsible not only for the performance of his own quota, or for the operation of his machine-tool, but also for his entire enterprise and for all affairs of our society.

The involvement of the working people in solving the problems of planning and management of production, in reinforcing control and strengthening labour discipline, their vigorous participation in all political and social activities, are a practical expression of the broad opportunities offered by our socialist democracy.

Soviet citizens are keenly aware of the inseparable link between their labour efforts and this country's successes in the international arena. And now, working to implement the Ninth Five-Year Plan, we clearly realize that we are strengthening thereby the positions of the world's first socialist country and enhancing its international prestige.

The present international situation is characterized by a transition from the Cold War to a relaxation of international tensions, to a lessening of the danger of another world war, to co-operation among peoples and states. The key factors at work here are the growth of the power and influence of the world socialist system, the struggle of the forces of peace and progress against the forces of reaction and war.

The Soviet Union is confidently and consistently implementing the Peace Programme drawn up by the 24th CPSU Congress. Its purpose is to prevent another world war and to guarantee dependable security of nations in the interest of further social progress.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 36, pp. 369-370.

This policy was bequeathed to us by Lenin, and we consistently put it into practice, affirming the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states with different social systems.

Our active foreign policy line has come to be known as a "peace offensive". Indeed, the Party and government pursue this policy with extreme intensity and persistence and are doing their utmost to make the favourable changes taking place on the international scene irreversible. In this offensive we receive steadily growing support from all peace forces.

As regards its content, the foreign policy of the Soviet state is of a truly socialist character. It is motivated not by considerations of expediency, as is claimed by our opponents, but by the vital interests of the working people. The purpose of this policy is to provide the most favourable conditions for communist construction in the USSR and other socialist countries, for a struggle for social progress, the social and national liberation of people throughout the world.

The realities of life conclusively demonstrate the correctness of the Party's foreign policy line. This is evidenced in particular by the settlement of many crucial issues of world politics during the last few years.

The positions of world socialism have been consolidated appreciably. The CPSU and the Soviet government devote prime attention to furthering friendship and co-operation between the socialist countries. The joint measures taken by the socialist community of nations helped the Vietnamese people to win victory in their struggle against aggression. The fraternal countries gave effective assistance to the Arab peoples after the outbreak of the October war and have now taken a firm stand for a lasting peace settlement in the Middle East. Friendship and co-operation among the socialist countries are growing steadily.

We are in favour of friendship with all socialist countries. As far as our stand in relation to China is concerned, it is clear and consistent. While upholding resolutely the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the interests of our socialist country and giving a rebuff to the hostile intrigues of the Maoist leadership, the CPSU and the Soviet government come out for normalizing relations between the USSR and China, for restoring friendship between the Soviet and Chinese

peoples. In this matter we invariably pursue the line charted by the 24th CPSU Congress.

Implementing its Peace Programme, the Soviet Union has taken steps which have brought about favourable changes in Soviet relations with France, the German Federal Republic and the United States. The top-level meetings and talks held last year were of special significance. That was not a simple matter. Great initiative, energy and persistence, and skilful use of all diplomatic facilities, were required to overcome mistrust and prejudice and direct relations to the lines of peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial co-operation.

The international climate is visibly changing for the better, and the outlook for peace is becoming brighter. The Soviet people and the progressive public all over the world express their high appreciation of General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev's indefatigable work for peace, admiring his self-sacrifice, wisdom and courage.

In the new situation taking shape in the world the Soviet Union, jointly with other socialist countries, is working to promote *détente*. This is the aim of our efforts at the all-European conference, at the Vienna and Geneva talks. The Soviet side will pursue the same objective at the forthcoming meeting with the US President Richard Nixon in Moscow.

Working out its Peace Programme, the Party, guided by Marxist-Leninist doctrine, clearly realized that this programme would have to be implemented in the face of stiff resistance from the forces interested in the Cold War climate being preserved. The process of *détente* does not follow a straight course. There are many twists and turns on its path. Champions of militarism and ideological subversion of socialism are putting up obstacles to *détente* here and there.

The logic of common sense, however, is steadily gaining ground. Real changes in the alignment of forces inevitably cause changes in the views and attitudes of the public, political leaders and statesmen.

Today opposition to *détente* in the West is not something one can show openly. Public opinion compels government circles to reckon with its desire to have the war danger removed and normal relations established between all states. Anyone concerned with political affairs has to take account of such sentiments in our day. It should be

acknowledged that many political leaders in the West show a measure of realism in their approach to foreign policy issues. The most sober-minded politicians realize that peaceful coexistence is the only possible and indispensable basis for relations between states belonging to opposite social systems.

Our class adversaries in the West have now to reconcile themselves to the fact that the abolition of their nuclear superiority has knocked the bottom out of the conceptions of the Cold War and power politics. The principle of peaceful coexistence is based on an increasingly stable foundation.

Of course, quite a few of our opponents in the opposite camp are unwilling, contrary to common sense, to take a realistic view of the world. They are trying under various pretexts to thwart the process of *détente*, an improvement in Soviet-American relations in particular. Some are not ostensibly opposed to *détente*, but they recommend "going slow" about it. Others are literally infuriated by the very idea of *détente*. In the capitalist world it is sometimes claimed that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries alone benefit from *détente*.

The most reactionary and aggressive imperialist forces are even attempting, here and there, to mount a counter-offensive to undermine the foundations of *détente*. The future, however, will not belong to those who are trying to draw the world into another dangerous confrontation. They do not determine the main line of world development today. As Leonid Brezhnev has stated, "our foreign policy is supported by the entire Soviet people, by the overwhelming majority of the earth's population, because this policy pursues the noble aims of consolidating peace and security, of securing the requisite conditions for the free development of all peoples, for the social progress of all countries."¹

A plethora of comments on the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet have appeared in the capitalist press. Some of them deal with specific questions. Others attempt an analysis of all political life in the Soviet Union. What is the keynote of these items? In contrast to the past, when bourgeois ideologists visualized an impending collapse of

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and articles*, vol. 4, p. 459.

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The Unity and Cohesion of the Soviet People

the Soviet system, they now admit, albeit reluctantly, its strength and stability.

Our opponents have to recognize the stability of the political situation in the Soviet Union and the fact that the Soviet people rallied around the Leninist party are confidently coping with their economic and social development tasks.

It is not a simple matter to calumniate the Soviet system as a whole today. Such calumny will not be believed by the next man nowadays. Therefore, our ill-wishers abroad in their writings denigrate Soviet realities piecemeal so to say. In so doing, many of them seem to be ashamed to admit frankly their hostility to socialism. They don the hypocritical mask of "objective" observers who bear no malice against the communists but only desire to "improve" our socialism and make it in content and in form closer to the Western way of life.

This time too, in their comments on the current campaign for elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Western news media express their dissatisfaction with the fact that in this country candidates run for election on the basis of only one platform—the programme of the Communist and non-Party bloc—alleging that for this reason the Soviet electoral system is not representative enough. It is easy to see the true cause of this disgruntlement of bourgeois propagandists with the Soviet electoral system. What really irks them is not the fact that we have only one programme but the fact that it is a communist programme which enjoys countrywide support from all Soviet citizens.

Indeed, all candidates for election to the USSR Supreme Soviet adhere to a common election platform. It is set forth in the Appeal of the CPSU Central Committee to the electorate, in the statements of electoral agents and other representatives of the Soviet public. We regard this programme as a great advantage stemming from the social and political cohesion of Soviet society, the Soviet people's unity in their struggle for the triumph of communist ideals.

The political and moral unity of Soviet society is one of the most valuable achievements of socialism. It has developed historically under the Communist Party's guidance.

Explaining in his time why Soviet Russia, weak and devastated by war, had been able to withstand the onslaught of incomparably

stronger imperialist powers, Lenin said that these powers have "none of the inner strength"¹ that we have.

This strength derives from the all-out support for the Soviet system on the part of the masses. Soviet Russia's victory in the Civil War, her effective rebuff to incursions by foreign interventionist forces, her recovery from economic dislocation and famine, were made possible by the unmatched heroism and self-sacrifice of the finest representatives of her working class and peasantry, who had stirred the masses to action and led them. "And when millions of working people are united as one man, following the finest people of their own class, their victory is assured", Lenin has said.²

In the struggle to establish and develop Soviet government, the people's political unity grew stronger, as did the common views, will and actions of the masses formed in the process of fulfilling the key tasks advanced by the Party. These were the tasks of nationwide industrialization and collectivization of agriculture in the years of the early five-year plans.

The Soviet people's sociopolitical and ideological unity, the fraternal friendship among Soviet nations, forcefully manifested themselves in the gruelling years of the Second World War. Today, too, the political and moral cohesion of the Soviet people is the powerful spiritual force which lends the Soviet state its strength and stability.

The Soviet people are linked by ties of close friendship and fraternal co-operation. "The convergence of all classes and social groups, the fostering of the moral and political qualities of the Soviet people, the consolidation of their social unity are taking place on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology expressing the socialist interests and communist ideals of the working class",³ Leonid Brezhnev stated at the 24th CPSU Congress.

The sociopolitical and moral unity of the Soviet people is a great force, a powerful factor in Soviet society's progress.

The imperialists are going out of their way to try to undermine this

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 41, p. 356.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 40, p. 232.

³ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and articles*, vol. 3, p. 275.

unity of the Soviet people, to cause "erosion of Soviet society", to use a phrase used in the West. It is not for nothing that Western propaganda circulates all sorts of fabrications about this country. Reactionary circles allocate millions of dollars for intelligence services and subversive centres to conduct secret operations against the Soviet Union and extol turncoats and renegades attempting to discredit it. Some Western leaders are prone to take advantage of *détente* for interference in Soviet internal affairs.

What is our stand in relation to these unfriendly attitudes? We Soviet citizens cherish the Soviet system and are wholeheartedly devoted to it. We are doing our best to strengthen it. Twenty million Soviet men and women laid down their lives to defend the Soviet system, the most valuable, sacred heritage left to us by Lenin, our great leader and teacher. Our memory of the fallen fighters and the heroic constructive efforts of the living generation exemplify our faith in communism, our determination to struggle for its triumph. This is the main and highly effective factor in our progress. The false voices of disgruntlement behind our backs will not lead us astray. The dogs bark, but the caravan goes on.

The current election campaign is another manifestation of the ideological maturity and political unity of the Soviet people, their dedication to communist ideals. This campaign conveys the profound meaning and expresses the content of our Soviet democracy, of our socialist government of the people.

The Communist Party has come forward with a clear-cut political programme for the elections. This is a programme of continued economic, social and cultural development, of advancing socialist democracy, of strengthening the friendship of nations, of consolidating the unity of socialist society. This is a programme of strengthening the positions of socialism, progress and peace.

I am confident that the forthcoming elections will demonstrate again the Soviet people's trust in and support for the home and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, the unity of the Soviet people in the struggle for the triumph of communist ideals.

In conclusion I wish to thank again the collectives of the enterprises and organizations, which have nominated me for election to the

USSR Supreme Soviet and the electoral agents and other comrades who have spoken at this meeting.

The presidium of this meeting has received many patriotic letters requesting me to inform the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Leonid Brezhnev personally of the determination of the working people of the Kashira electoral district to do their utmost for successful fulfilment of the assignments of the Ninth Five-Year Plan.

Allow me to assure you that if the Kashira District electorate put their trust in me as their deputy I will spare no effort to live up to this high honour.

I wish you new great success in your work for the benefit of this socialist country, for the triumph of the great ideals of communism.

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**The Indissoluble Unity
of the Party and People**
**Speech at a meeting with the
Novomoskovsky District constituency
on the occasion of nomination for election
to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian
Federation, 9 June 1975**

Dear comrades!

I express my heartfelt thanks to this audience and to the entire electorate of the Novomoskovsky District for my nomination for election to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. I regard this as a high honour and an expression of trust on your part. Full credit for this trust is due to the Communist Party, of which I am proud to be a member. It is indisputable that by nominating communists to serve as their deputies Soviet citizens express their unanimous support for the home and foreign policy of the great party of Lenin.

It is for the third time that you have chosen me to represent your district in the supreme legislature of the Russian Federation. Your trust, of course, involves a high responsibility on my part. It is eight years since I was first elected as your deputy. Over the period I have set up effective business ties with the Novomoskovsk city Party and Executive Committees, and with many labour collectives of your district. As a deputy I have worked to the best of my ability to help fulfil the tasks in developing production and improving living conditions in the city and district. This work, perhaps, was not fully successful at all times and in every field, but I have invariably tried to be useful to my constituency, and I am determined to work in the same way in the future as well.

Every next election to the legislative bodies of this country is an

event of great social significance for the Soviet people. Indeed, it is a matter of shaping the organs of government that will carry into effect the will of this country's working people, express their interests and aspirations.

The present elections are to take place in a remarkable year, in which the fulfilment of the Ninth Five-Year Plan is to be completed and preparations for the 25th Party Congress are assuming ever wider scope. The socialist emulation drive in honour of the Congress is developing throughout the country. This is a highly significant fact, because the socialist emulation drive and its results are a materialization of the Soviet people's great moral and political uplift and their devotion to the communist cause.

The organization and process of elections are a graphic illustration of the development of socialist democracy. In the course of the election campaign the results of the fulfilment of the election programme are reviewed, and new tasks are outlined in all fields of socialist construction. Elections contribute to further strengthening of the unity of the communists and the unaffiliated masses, to still greater solidarity of all working people with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

At the same time, elections again show clearly that all power in this country belongs to the people. Recently the Central Electoral Commission announced official data concerning candidates nominated in the current election campaign. Among the registered candidates for election to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation 35 per cent are workers and more than 15 per cent are collective farmers. These figures reflect the Party line of broad and active involvement of working people in the administration of state.

Such broad representation of the working people in the supreme body of government is not to be found in any capitalist country, even among those which boast of their traditional democracy. Take, for instance, the US Congress. Bankers, businessmen and lawyers of large corporations constitute the absolute majority of its members. There is not a single worker in Congress, and the so-called "average Americans" are represented by just a few members.

Such is the picture of the ruling body of a country which lays claim to being the criterion of the Western way of life and likes to lecture

other states on matters of democratic development.

The enemies of socialism who are worried by the growth of Soviet prestige in the world are trying to sow doubts about the genuine democracy of the Soviet system. Shamelessly distorting facts, they talk about some "violations" of human rights in the USSR, oppose to our system the principles of so-called "pure" democracy, seek out and exaggerate individual shortcomings in Soviet reality.

Of course we have certain shortcomings in Soviet reality. In the construction of a new society in such a vast country as ours. In the early years of Soviet government Lenin said: "Soviet power is not a magic talisman. It does not heal immediately from survivals of the past, from illiteracy, from lack of culture, from the aftermath of the savage war, from the legacy of predatory capitalism. However, it makes possible a transition to socialism. It makes possible the advancement of those who were oppressed and enables them to take into their own hands more and more all administration of state, all management of the economy, all management of production."¹

Soviet government could not do away at one stroke with all shortcomings and difficulties inherited from the past. However, it immediately gave the masses what mattered most. It enabled them to become actively and directly involved in the management of all affairs of state and society. The working people, the entire multinational Soviet people, manage the affairs of state through their organizations, primarily through the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

The communists have never concealed the fact that socialist democracy has a class character. It is democracy for millions upon millions of working people. Any soviet citizen whose interests are in harmony with the interests of society feels the full scope of our democratic freedoms. The matter is different if there is no such harmony, as is the case with a few individuals. Here we have to say frankly: priority must be attached to the interests of all society, all working people. We believe this is a fair principle.

Socialist democracy implies not only rights and freedoms. It also

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 38, p. 239.

implies the duties of every citizen to all society and strict discipline. Taking part in government of the people, in the administration of state, the working people themselves are vitally interested in maintaining law and order, in strict observance of the principles and norms of socialist community life, which are established at their own will in Soviet laws, in the ethical and moral standards. The wider the scope of democracy, the people's participation in the management of national affairs, the higher the responsibility of each member of society for the common cause, for strengthening labour and state discipline.

Speaking of socialist democracy and its cardinal difference from bourgeois democracy, it is necessary to emphasize another characteristic aspect of this question. Soviet government not only proclaimed the democratic rights of Soviet citizens but also guaranteed their practical realization. In addition to political rights, there are guarantees of socio-economic rights, such as the right to work, rest and leisure, to education and material security in old age.

Indeed, how can one claim that the civil rights of the masses are respected in the capitalist countries where people live in constant fear of losing their jobs and hence their earnings? According to official statistics, the rate of unemployment has surpassed 8 million in the United States, 1,200,000 in Italy, is almost just as high in Japan, is greater than 1 million in the FRG and about 1 million in Great Britain.

When analyzing the main trend in present-day bourgeois criticism of Soviet democracy, one is bound to draw the conclusion that although this criticism is camouflaged with "concern" for freedom, democracy, and human rights, it is directed in fact against the socialist essence of Soviet society. We communists are not surprised by this fact. Such criticism only confirms that all ideological conceptions of imperialism, on problems of democracy in particular, pursue the object of defence of the interests of the *bourgeoisie*. These interests were antagonistic to the interests of the working people in the past, and they are just as antagonistic today.

For socialism the development of democracy is a vital need, the main line of the Party in all its work to strengthen the Soviet state and perfect the political organization of Soviet society. The measures

The Indissoluble Unity of the Party and People

implemented in this field over the last few years pursued precisely these goals.

We Soviet citizens are accustomed to the fact that our five-year plans are a dependable criterion of our progress. The nine soviet five-year plans, however, are not simply nine identical stages in the development of the Soviet Union. Each of them has its distinctive features, its own image, so to say. The current five-year plan is distinguished by the enormous scale of work in progress, a comprehensive approach to the solution of national economic tasks, the successful attainment of the targets outlined by the 24th CPSU Congress.

One can clearly see today how the quantitative growth of the economic power of the Soviet state transforms into qualitative advancement in the sense that it enables us to solve new large problems, drawing large economic areas into their orbit. Take, for instance, the development of the energy and raw materials resources of Siberia and the Far East. Of course, we had been aware of the advantages of such development before. We had long been planning to gain access to these resources, but some plans were frustrated by the war, while others could not be implemented for lack of practical possibilities. Today the situation is different. The level of Soviet economic advancement makes it possible to carry on development work on a truly gigantic scale.

The short acronym "BAM" (Baikal-Amur Main Line) has become known all over the world. It has entered the world's languages, just as the Russian words "kolkhoz" and "sputnik" became part of other languages in the past.

It would seem there is nothing extraordinary about the construction of a long railway line. It should not be forgotten, however, that the Baikal-Amur Main Line is a powerful lever by which the image of a vast forestland will be totally changed. Man will get access to coal, ores, timber and other wealth that could not be reached through roadless terrain. Large tracts of unused land will be cultivated. In short, BAM will provide a solution to major economic and social problems.

It is hard to overestimate the significance of the comprehensive programme of developing the Non-Black Earth Belt of the Russian

Federation. The Soviet people have rightly described the work started in this zone as another virgin land development programme. Indeed, it is a question of fundamental transformation of this vast region of Central Russia inhabited by almost a quarter of this country's total population and of providing the basis for high rates of growth of agricultural production.

The implementation of the plans outlined will contribute substantially to the growth of Soviet economic potential and the solution of current and long-term tasks.

The whole country is involved in the work to renovate and advance the areas of the Non-Black Earth Belt. The implementation of this programme requires primarily the mobilization of all internal resources, the efforts of all those working in this zone, including the working people of the Tula region and your district. The Tula workmen have long been famous in this country and in the world for their skill, persistence at work and excellent workmanship. They will indisputably manifest these remarkable qualities still more forcefully in the solution of the major economic and social problems outlined in the programme of developing the Non-Black Earth Belt.

In the period of the earlier five-year plans the Soviet Union moved to first place in the world for the output of many important industrial and agricultural products. In the last four years of the current five-year plan new targets have been attained. Last year this country produced more coal, crude oil, steel and some other industrial items than any other state and became the world's largest manufacturer of mineral fertilizers. This is not simply a quantitative but also a qualitative indicator.

As you know, mineral fertilizers are a special product. Their production illustrates not only the country's industrial power but also the real possibilities for the development of agriculture. In the difficult year 1919 Lenin signed a decree, which stated in particular: "All fertilizers are to be assimilated to grain in respect of transportation and are to be delivered to their destination urgently as top-priority goods".¹

¹ *Decrees of Soviet Government*, Moscow, 1971, vol. 5, p. 170.

From the time of the early five-year plans, the Party took steps to develop the production of mineral fertilizers. It was only in the last decade, however, that we became capable of undertaking this work on a qualitatively new level. A fundamental role was played in this field by the March 1965 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, which drew up on scientific lines a programme of comprehensive development and advancement of agriculture. The plenary meeting outlined the task of wide-scale chemicalization, without which stable high yields are inconceivable today.

At the end of the last five-year plan this country still lagged far behind the United States in production of mineral fertilizers. Incidentally, we started competition in this field from different initial levels. In Imperial Russia the production of mineral fertilizers was equivalent to only 3 per cent of the US output. The same proportion was in evidence in relation to Britain and France. Today the Soviet Union's output of these important products is larger than that of the United States and of all Common Market countries combined. This is a spectacular success, to which the personnel of the Novomoskovsky Chemical Complex have made a major contribution.

The commissioning at this Complex of two ammonia production facilities means that the labour collective of the Complex has fulfilled the task set by the 24th CPSU Congress excellently. The new facilities extend far beyond the framework of routine increase in capacity. They have integrated the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the much advanced skills and enormous labour enthusiasm of the workers, specialists and office personnel. The new installations are almost twice the capacity of all this country's ammonia plants in 1948. The fact that they enable an increase in labour productivity many times over is especially significant.

Miners and building workers, workers in transportation services and agriculture, are also contributing effectively to fulfilling the assignments of the current five-year plan. It is a pleasure to know that the working people not only of the Novomoskovsky District but of the Tula region as a whole have provided good prerequisites for its completion ahead of schedule.

Speaking of this country's economy as a whole, it should be

pointed out that the increment in industrial output over the first five months of the current year has amounted to 7.6 per cent. This is a higher rate of growth than planned (6.7 per cent). We have ample reason to say that the country has now advanced to such levels as will enable it to complete successfully the assignments of the current five-year plan.

In the Soviet state economic development is subordinated to the achievement of the main task set by the Party—one of advancing steadily the material and cultural standards of life of the people.

Advancement of the people's standards of living is a many-sided task as regards its significance and content. Our approach to it is not a mechanical increase in the production of colour TV sets, refrigerators and cars, although we are developing the manufacture of these goods in every way. The well-being of the people implies not only an increase in the quantity of material benefits for the consumer but also man's intellectual advancement, the development of his creativity, his moral perfection, the promotion of public health and environmental protection.

Over the last four years of the current five-year plan *per capita* real incomes have grown 19 per cent. The average monthly earnings of factory and office workers have been raised considerably. Over the five-year plan period 80 million factory and office workers will have their pay raised, and 40 million persons will be granted increases in pensions, allowances or stipends. Adding to this the growth in the incomes of collective farmers, it will be easy to see that practically almost every Soviet family now feels an improvement in the material conditions of life. The state maintains stable prices of basic consumer goods and foodstuffs, which is particularly visible in the background of the current run-away inflation in the capitalist world.

The main political result of the last four and a half years of the five-year plan is that dynamic economic progress has been assured, a new long step has been taken in the fulfilment of key social tasks, in the further development of Soviet society.

Reviewing the results of the work performed, the Party not only acknowledges the progress achieved, but also gives attention to shortcomings and unresolved problems. This high-principled, truly Leninist approach to work is characteristic of the activity of the plenary

meetings of the CPSU Central Committee and the Party as a whole. The Party pays close attention to the ideological sphere of life in Soviet society. The 24th CPSU Congress emphasized that the moulding of the new man is one of the main tasks in communist construction.

No figures can fully express the results of the Party's ideological work, its activities in the political education of the masses. The entire Soviet people, however, feel the results of this work.

The Soviet people's communist convictions and their new, communist attitude to work have grown stronger. The moral atmosphere in Soviet society is conducive to a respectful and solicitous attention to man, to an exacting attitude to oneself and to others, to trust combined with a keen sense of responsibility, genuine comradeship and mutual assistance.

This is why in our day one is especially intolerant of such phenomena alien to the Soviet way of life as bureaucracy and money-grubbing, stealing of public property and breaches of labour discipline, drunkenness and rudeness. We say that these evils are survivals of the past. This is really so, because the moulding of the new man is a far longer and difficult process than reconstruction of the economy. What is more, we are not alone in the world, nor are we separated from other states. Bourgeois ideologists are trying to influence unstable individuals in this country, advertizing morals and life styles alien to socialism.

In recent time the countries of the socialist community have witnessed more and more often such actions of imperialist forces that may be qualified as ideological subversion. The Soviet people dealt with such subversion before. This is one of the perfidious methods used by the capitalist world in its struggle against socialism. Throughout the history of the establishment and development of the socialist state the enemies of Soviet power resorted to subversion to undermine its economic and defence potential. These methods have failed to bring about the results expected by the imperialists and check the Soviet people's spectacular progress in socialist construction.

Today the enemies of *détente* are placing special emphasis on ideological subversion. As is known, an acute struggle is developing in this field between socialism and capitalism. "However, we will

work for this historically inevitable struggle to take a course which is not fraught with the menace of war, dangerous conflicts, an unrestrained arms race", Leonid Brezhnev has said.¹

The imperialists resort in the ideological field to various ways and means of subversion so as to distort through deception and falsification the Soviet Union's foreign policy of peace and provoke some anti-social, anti-socialist manifestations inside this country.

The enemies of socialism realize that today it would be a hopeless venture to offer the Soviet people the idea of restoration of the capitalist system. Therefore, they dress themselves in the garb of advocates of "democratic" socialism seeking its "improvement". The true objectives of such "solicitude" are easy to see. They boil down to undermining Soviet power from the inside and liquidating the gains of socialism.

The Soviet people are clearly aware of these goals. This is why the Soviet public gives such determined and unanimous rebuff to whatever attempts are made in this direction. The unbreakable sociopolitical and ideological unity and the vigilance of the Soviet people surely guarantee that present acts of ideological subversion are doomed to the same total failure as was suffered by the earlier subversive operations against the Soviet state.

The Party's activities and the Soviet people's constructive efforts to fulfil the breathtaking plans of economic, social and cultural development, are inseparably linked with the struggle for implementing the Peace Programme advanced in Leonid Brezhnev's report to the 24th CPSU Congress.

The past few years have marked a turning-point in affirming the principles of peaceful coexistence in the practice of international relations. A turn has been made from the Cold War which lasted for over a quarter-century to a relaxation of tensions, to normalizing and developing relations between states with different social systems.

We rightly attribute these favourable changes to the increased impact produced on all international affairs by Soviet policy and reunited actions of the countries of the socialist community. The growth of the power and prestige of the fraternal socialist nations

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and articles*, vol. 4, p. 81.

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have become a decisive factor in securing a relaxation of international tensions.

The foreign policy line charted by the Soviet Communist Party is aimed at providing favourable conditions for the Soviet people's constructive efforts, for the consolidation of world socialism, for strengthening the forces struggling for their national liberation and social progress.

We say openly that *détente* agrees with the interests of socialism. In view of this it is sometimes claimed in the West that the Soviet Union derives some unilateral advantages from *détente*. This absurd conclusion, of course, does not hold water. Indeed, the peoples of other countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and America have no less interest in the prevention of war and nuclear holocaust of human life. He who wants peace is also in favour of *détente*. All nations equally need peace, *détente*, and greater mutual trust.

As is known, the all-European conference has entered a decisive phase. The very fact that 35 nations belonging to opposite systems and military political alliances are jointly working out measures to guarantee security and develop co-operation among European nations is of enormous political significance. It is clear that such a conference could not have been convened in conditions of confrontation. Only in a situation of international relations changed in the direction of *détente* has it been finally possible to hold this conference.

Do the Soviet Union and other socialist countries alone need security and good-neighbourly relations in Europe? Are they less necessary to other countries swept by two destructive and bloody world wars in the present century? It is clear to every sober-minded person that the consolidation of peace in Europe benefits all states regardless of their social systems.

In the situation of *détente* new opportunities have appeared in the field of international economic relations.

Over the last few years the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have concluded economic agreements and large contracts with capitalist countries. Such ties are indisputably beneficial to this country, because they ease the fulfilment of some important economic tasks. As is known, however, trade and economic relations in

general are a mutually beneficial affair. It is only natural, therefore, that the business community in many Western countries soberly assesses the current situation and displays initiative in setting up contacts with the Soviet Union.

The Soviet people know the price of peace only too well. Twenty million Soviet men and women laid down their lives in the last war. Revering the memory of those who died in defence of this country and defeated fascism, concerned for mankind's destiny, the Soviet Union has addressed the peoples, parliaments and governments of all countries with an appeal for ending the dangerous Cold War policy for all time and directing their efforts to securing a strong and lasting peace on earth.

For their part the CPSU and the Soviet state are doing their best for the process of *détente* to gain ground steadily and become irreversible. General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev has stated in this context: "As a result of the Party's consistent and stubborn policy of peace, of the growth of the power and influence of world socialist forces the danger of another world war has been pushed back. We will do whatever is necessary to have this danger eventually removed in general."¹

This is indeed a lofty and noble goal. It is being pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries at the all-European conference, at the Vienna talks, and at the top-level bilateral talks and meetings with Western leaders.

We realize of course that *détente* is opposed by certain forces who have a vested interest in the continued arms race and have not desisted from their attempts to put pressure on the Soviet Union and force it to make concessions.

It has to be admitted that China's leaders are active opponents of *détente*. Our principal line in relation to China was clearly formulated in the resolutions of the 24th CPSU Congress and remains in force at present.

The CPSU has repeatedly pointed out that *détente* cannot develop under its own momentum. It is necessary to struggle for it actively. As Leonid Brezhnev has said, "there can be no pause or respite in

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and articles*, vol. 5, p. 293.

this struggle",¹ because *détente* is an uninterrupted process demanding steady advancement and practical implementation of the agreements reached. This approach to the process of *détente* meets with increasing understanding in the world. This is why our constructive proposals and practical steps in this direction are approved of and supported by the world public, by all those who are committed to peace.

The April 1975 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee took a decision to convene the 25th Party Congress. This will be an event of nationwide significance in the life of the Soviet people, for whom resolutions of Party congresses invariably open up new prospects and horizons.

Fifty-eight years ago, at the First All-Russia Congress of Soviets in June 1917, there occurred an episode which went down in history. When one of the leaders of the opportunist parties declared that in Russia there was no political party capable of taking all power into its own hands, Lenin exclaimed from the audience: "Yes! Such a party does exist. It is the Bolshevik Party!"² Within a few months, in October 1917, the Bolsheviks led the working people in a victorious assault on the old world.

The Great October Socialist Revolution established the Communist Party in power. Since then it has invariably been at the helm of this socialist state. This fact in itself is of enormous significance in the political history of our century. Indeed, taking a look at bourgeois parties, one can see numerous examples of how some of them disintegrated as soon as they published their programmes, while others, although they remained on the political scene, now and then experienced deep shocks, coming to power or going into opposition.

The CPSU enjoys infinite trust of the people, who have assigned to it the leading role in the life of the country. What is the reason for this great trust in the Communist Party? It is the fact that our Party, just as the other fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, expresses in its programme and practical work the vital interests of the working people, the objective requirements of social development. The Party

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and articles*, vol. 5, p. 292.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 32, p. 267.

is capable of expressing authentically the interests and requirements of the people because it is equipped with an instrument for scientific cognition and transformation of the world—the Marxist-Leninist theory which, in conformity with the course of history, it develops creatively, enriches and translates into reality.

The Party has proved in practice that it is successfully performing its role as the leader and organizer of all activities of the Soviet people. It demonstrated this in the period of the early five-year plans, when the foundation of socialism was being laid, in the Great Patriotic War in which the Soviet people routed Nazi Germany, and in the years of postwar recovery, when we had to rebuild what had been destroyed by the flames of war.

All these events have now become part of history. However, they are alive in our hearts, in the constructive efforts of today. These events are clearly remembered by the Soviet people because they actively participated in these events, struggling under the leadership of the Party for the triumph of the great communist ideals. This struggle was the crucible in which was forged the indissoluble unity of the Party and people which makes the most characteristic feature of Soviet life.

In developed socialist society the role of the CPSU as the leading and organizing force of this society is steadily growing. The scope of our constructive activity is widening, and the rate of social progress is accelerating. The Soviet people are firmly convinced that for all their complexity and wide scope the tasks facing them will indisputably be accomplished. They will be accomplished because we have both objective and subjective factors working in this direction. They will be accomplished because, as Lenin said, we have a party under whose leadership we can cope with tasks of any complexity.

* * *

The Soviet people unanimously support the home and foreign policy of the Party and enthusiastically approve of the activities of the Party's Central Committee and its Politbureau headed by General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev. These sentiments find expression in that the Soviet people name Leonid Brezhnev with great pride and affec-

tion as their first candidate for election to the Supreme Soviet.

Today, as in the past, the Party has come forward with a clear programme for the coming elections. This is a programme of further economic and cultural development, of advancing the Soviet people's well-being, of perfecting socialist democracy, of strengthening the forces of socialism, progress and peace. By casting their votes for candidates of the Communist and non-Party bloc the Soviet people will again demonstrate their common determination to struggle for the triumph of the great communist cause.

I express once again my heartfelt gratitude to the working people of the Novomoskovsk electoral district who have nominated me for election to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, the electoral agents and all comrades who have spoken at this meeting. I assure you that I will do all in my power to live up to your trust.

I wish you new great success in your work for the benefit of this socialist country.

Leninism: the Science and Art of Revolution

Report at a ceremonial meeting in Moscow dedicated to the 106th anniversary of Lenin's birth, 22 April 1976

Comrades!

Today it is 106 years since the birth of Vladimir Lenin, a genius of revolution and a great thinker, the founder of the Soviet Communist Party and of the world's first workers' and peasants' state. We are celebrating this red-letter day soon after the 25th Congress of the CPSU, in a situation of a new nationwide upsurge of enthusiasm and further growth of the political and labour activity of the Soviet people.

The victorious proletarian revolution, which ushered in a new era in world history in the twentieth century, was carried out under the leadership of Lenin, who continued the great cause of Marx and Engels. The world community of socialist nations which has taken shape in the twentieth century also draws inspiration from Lenin's ideas. The irresistible movement towards freedom and justice, towards socialism and the summits of social progress, is gaining momentum and wider scope under the banner of Lenin, of Marxism-Leninism.

Time has no power over Leninism. This doctrine correctly interprets the objective laws of history, relying on all the achievements of progressive social thought of the past and constantly absorbing innovative ideas coming up with the march of time. Leninism is an endless process of creative thinking, analysis and summing up of social change, of constant self-renovation of revolutionary theory under the impact of revolutionary practice.

"All of Lenin's life", Leonid Brezhnev has said, "was incessant

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creative effort—in theory, in politics, in organizing the class struggle of the proletariat, in building up the Party and the State. These qualities of creative genius he also fostered in the great Party which continues honourably to carry aloft Lenin's banner, the banner of communism."¹

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union regards loyalty to Leninism as an immutable law of its theoretical and practical activities. This is why for the Party a strictly scientific approach, a consistent revolutionary outlook, a penetrating analysis of social phenomena, and selfless service of the interests of the people are inseparable components of a coherent whole. This is why the Party links the creative development of theory with the practical work of the masses, the vital tasks in communist construction in the USSR, the progress of world socialism, the international communist and working-class movement as a whole.

For the CPSU and the proletarian revolutionaries of the whole world, Leninism has always been and is a dependable guide to success, the science and art of revolutionary creativity opening new horizons before mankind.

THE 25th CONGRESS OF THE CPSU: A HISTORIC MILESTONE ON THE PATH TOWARDS COMMUNISM

Every year on this red-letter day we review our progress in reverence for our fond memories of Lenin. Today we are reviewing the spectacular achievements and inspiring prospects profoundly and vividly revealed by the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

The Congress was a milestone on the road of Soviet society's advance towards communism. Its documents fully reflect the distinctive character of the current historical stage of Soviet society's development, of the tasks and problems it is faced with by the realities of life.

The Congress has shown that the possibilities of this country have

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1970, vol. 2, p. 562.

increased enormously. The unity and cohesion of Soviet society are as strong as ever before. The unity of all classes and social groups, all nations and national minorities, all generations of the Soviet people is truly unbreakable. The Soviet Union today has a vast economic potential, which has doubled during the last ten years alone. This impressive rate of economic growth has become a matter of course. Never before have we had such a large force of highly skilled personnel as we have today. Soviet science has developed into a direct productive force, a powerful booster of social progress. Along with other fraternal socialist countries the Soviet Union exerts an ever stronger and deeper influence on the course of world developments, on the system of international relations in general.

Relying on this solid foundation, the Party has started implementing plans which are bound to bring new successes in communist construction, further to strengthen peace and the positions of socialism on the international scene.

In the field of home policy, primarily in economics, this refers to the continued advancement of the working people's standards of living, the development of industry and the programme of advancing agriculture, increasing production of consumer goods, combining organically the revolution in science and technology with the advantages of socialism, and enhancing drastically the efficiency of social production as a whole.

In the foreign policy field we are determined further to consolidate the socialist community of nations, to develop our co-operation with the countries which have freed themselves from the colonial yoke, to lend added momentum to the current turn from international tensions and the Cold War towards international relations based on the immutable principles of peaceful coexistence of states belonging to different social systems.

The 25th Congress has once again demonstrated that Lenin's teaching and cause have dedicated followers. The spirit of Leninism and Leninist logic permeate the report delivered at the Congress by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The Party has emphasized the historic significance of the Soviet record of achievements, acknowledged its admiration and respect for the dedicated constructive effort of the Soviet people, and advanced

to the foreground the problems still unresolved, the tasks which have yet to be accomplished. The strategic line of the CPSU mapped out in the Central Committee's report and supported unanimously by the Congress is a model of creativity in Leninist style displayed by the Central Committee and its Politbureau in handling the fundamental problems of home and foreign policy.

We all recall the warm feelings and great appreciation expressed by Congress delegates speaking of Leonid Brezhnev's outstanding contributions to planning and implementing Party policy. In the final analysis the political skill of a communist leader of the Leninist stamp consists in his ability to perceive and understand the demands of the time, to sense and translate what the working people desire into reality. And what they desire is to live better, to live and work in peace. His profound understanding of these seemingly very simple yet in fact the most vital problems calling for the most responsible and complex political decisions is the basis for the single-mindedness and consistency which are so characteristic of Leonid Brezhnev, of all his activities. The attachment of first priority to the problems of public welfare, which involves organically a thoroughly considered formulation of the immediate tasks in Soviet economic development, the Peace Programme, which has won renown throughout the world are all associated with the name of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, whose tireless activity has gained nationwide recognition and support.

The Soviet people have appreciated the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress as a breathtaking programme of further advance to the ultimate goal which Lenin described as one of ensuring "full prosperity and free all-round development of all members of society".¹ Among the wide variety of large and small tasks claiming daily attention, the supreme forum of Soviet communists has placed emphasis on advancing the efficiency and quality of all our work. These tasks of crucial significance at the present stage of Soviet society's progress have been outlined in profound detail by Leonid Brezhnev and discussed in the report of Alexei Kosygin and the speeches of other delegates to the Congress.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 6, p. 232.

The Congress described advancement of the efficiency and quality of work as a many-sided and comprehensive problem, which largely determines the dynamics of economic growth, the rates of further improvement of the people's living standards, of continued perfection of social relations and the political system of society.

Of course, the Party has invariably displayed concern for the efficiency and quality of work at all the stages of socialist construction. Otherwise growth of labour productivity and present socioeconomic progress would have been impossible. Formerly, however, priority had to be attached to quantitative growth more than to other aspects of work. Today we view the relationship of quantity and quality from the height of what has been achieved, in the light of our new possibilities and new requirements.

Today we are capable of accomplishing many truly gigantic projects which have long been on our minds but which were not feasible. Each of them whether it is the programme for developing the non-chernozem (non-black soil) belt of the Russian Federation, the West Siberian, the Karatau-Dzhambul, or the South Tajik complexes, the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly area, or the Baikal-Amur Railway—is a major contribution to Soviet economic progress. They mean millions of tons more grain, crude oil, metal, and other important products. Furthermore, they mean new towns, roads, schools and hospitals, theatres and stadiums. All this implies not just an increment in economic potential but also the transformation of vast areas, complete sectors of the economy, far-reaching qualitative changes in the country's productive forces.

Organizing the working people to accomplish the fundamental tasks of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, the Party is advancing the standards of economic management to the level of new requirements in keeping with its Leninist principles. The rates of our growth and our progress in general now largely depend on improvement of management in the broad sense of the word, that is, on enhancing the standards of planning work, the efficiency of organizing efforts, a more skilful use of economic incentives and levers. Soviet co-operation with foreign nations and, of course, the deepening of socialist economic integration are assuming a new dimension.

All of us realize that implementing the Congress decisions will not

be a simple and easy matter. There is a lot of difficult work to be done. The Party regards further development of the labour activity and initiative of Soviet citizens as an indispensable prerequisite for implementing the plans outlined. The working people's solicitous concern for improving the economic performance results in their labour collectives and in the country as a whole, their civic awareness and activity are most widely and fully expressed in the nationwide socialist emulation drive, in the movement for a communist attitude to work. Enhancement of the productivity and discipline of labour, efforts to improve product quality, to speed up the practical application of the achievements of scientific and technological progress, to save time, labour, and materials are the main fields of the creativity of the masses.

The Soviet people's enthusiastic work has secured first successes in implementing the Tenth Five-Year Plan. The plan of industrial output in the first quarter of this year was fulfilled by 102 per cent. Good progress is being made in spring fieldwork on the farms.

The nationwide communist Subbotnik¹ was a striking demonstration of the Soviet people's initiative and patriotism. The working people taking part in it did a great deal of important and useful work. The significance of Subbotnik, however, is not confined to this alone. It was an expression of the people's profound respect and never-fading affection for Lenin, their allegiance to their splendid traditions and of the fact of historic significance that socialism has truly become the vital cause of all Soviet citizens.

Lenin regarded the Party's unity with the people as the source of its strength. The Soviet people know well that the CPSU is doing its utmost for the benefit of man, in the name of man. This slogan is inscribed on our banner and recorded in our Party Programme. Its consistent implementation is the meaning of the activity of the Party and all communists. This is what Lenin taught us to do, and we are acting in accordance with his behests.

¹ *Subbotnik* (from Russ. *subbota*)—Saturday work for free (Translator).

SOVIET SOCIETY AND
SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

In outlining immediate and long-term targets of economic and sociopolitical development, the Party proceeds from the fact that a developed socialist society has been built in this country and is steadily developing into communist society. The distinctive features of this stage of progress were vividly reflected in the deliberations of the 25th Party Congress. Its resolutions integrate a description of new factors of social progress with a new vision of key problems, the immediate practical tasks and long-term programme goals. These resolutions illumine the theoretical background of Party policy in a long historical perspective, one, as Lenin put it, of "effective communist construction, of creating new economic relations, a new society".¹

Developed socialism is the supreme achievement of social progress today. In the early days of Soviet government Lenin spoke of transforming economically backward, ruined and illiterate Russia into a highly developed, industrialized socialist state, a land of complete literacy and high standards of culture. It was merely a dream at that time. Lenin's dreams, which were far ahead of his time, however, were never divorced from reality. And today the world sees Lenin's dreams come true in the main features of developed socialism, in the impressive picture of its accomplishments presented by the 25th Party Congress.

All that has been gained and created by the Soviet people is inseparably connected with the activities of the Leninist Party. As Soviet society ascends the stages of social progress, as the scope of its constructive work steadily widens, and the scale of the task it has to handle at home and abroad becomes larger and larger, the Party has a growing role to play as the leading and guiding force of society, as the political vanguard of the working class, all working people, the nation as a whole.

Soviet society is making steady progress, which is a process involving along with the economy and culture the development of

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 39, p. 13.

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social relations and the political sphere. The Party has set in this context the task of further advancing Soviet socialist statehood, the style and methods of work in all fields of social activity.

The Soviet Union is a state of the whole people. This means that it abides by the will of the whole people and that all activities of the bodies of government serving, as they do, the interests of the people are carried out with their daily support and direct participation. The development of the political system, the political institutions of society—processes which are directed by the Party—organically combine the consolidation of socialist statehood with the promotion of socialist democracy.

In all its efforts to accomplish this task the Party will continue to rely on the time-tested Leninist principles.

Lenin has taught us that a socialist revolution and socialist transformations can be implemented successfully only under the leadership of the working class. In his view this idea, the worldwide historical mission of the proletariat as the maker of socialist society, is the core of Marxist doctrine.

It was natural, therefore, that the titanic efforts of Lenin himself as the theoretician and practical leader of the proletarian revolution were focused on developing this fundamental idea of Marxism creatively and on translating it into reality. This implies detailed elaboration of the practical ways and means, forms and methods of leadership to be used by the working class and its party in the revolutionary struggle and in implementing socialist transformations to secure a transition from capitalism to socialism.

Whatever form political guidance of society by the working class may take it invariably expresses the fundamental interests of the working majority and rests upon a broad social basis, far-flung class alliances, involving in the process of socialist transformations all progressive, viable and honest forces of society. It was not fortuitous that Lenin considered self-isolation from the people, sectarianism, just as dangerous to the socialist cause as reformism, unprincipled concessions to the class enemy.

Lenin has taught us that victory of socialism, its development and success in building a communist society are inconceivable without broad government of the people, without developing democracy. The

working class embraced the ideas of democracy as its own ideas as far back as the times when it had to fight for its rights under the iron heel of capitalism. The proletariat, Lenin writes, is fighting for democracy "in the van of the struggle . . . and heads the struggle".¹

As far as Soviet society is concerned, it will be recalled that already in the period of proletarian dictatorship it made a gigantic leap forward in developing democracy, using the power of government as an efficient instrument for social transformations carried out by the working people to promote their own vital interests. The steady process of widening and advancing of democracy goes hand in hand with the consolidation and development of socialism, the evolution of a state of the whole people from the state of proletarian dictatorship.

Lenin has stated that democracy has always had and continues to have a class nature. There is no democracy in general, only bourgeois or socialist democracy. The working class and the communists naturally attach great significance to those democratic rights and freedoms that can be won at the cost of a stubborn struggle under the rule of capitalism. This, however, does not change the class nature of bourgeois democracy, nor does this disprove the fact that socialism alone can ensure genuine government by the people.

Socialism has done away with the exploitation of man by man and social injustice for all time. Another of this country's great achievements is the complete abolition of ethnic oppression. We were the first to enforce the political equality of women in practice. It is an epoch-making accomplishment of socialism that all citizens are

¹ Socialism is democratic by nature, since it cannot exist and develop without involving the multi-million mass of the working people in creative political activities, in the management of the affairs of society and state. This has been fully borne out by this country's experience.

This conclusion is in no way contradicted by the fact that at a certain stage of the struggle for socialism in this country the leading role of the working class was exercised as a dictatorship of the proletariat. This scientific concept was viciously attacked, distorted and vulgarized with the sole aim of depicting the dictatorship of the proletariat as the opposite of democracy. In fact, Lenin opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat not to democracy but to the dictatorship of the *bourgeoisie*, which is inherent in the rule of capital. In Lenin's interpretation, in real life this dictatorship, that is the political power of the *bourgeoisie* based on the system of coercion it has established, exists even in states with the best-developed institutions of bourgeois democracy.

guaranteed access to education and culture, which were the privilege of the propertied minority for centuries. The Soviet Union was the world's first country to guarantee vital social rights along with political rights to all members of society. It is socialism that in practice involves working people in the management of government and public affairs, which is done through the Party and the Soviets, the trade unions, the public organizations, the press and nationwide discussion of the most important laws and decisions, through the entire socialist way of life.

All of these are spectacular achievements of Soviet society, as well as enormous success in developing socialist democracy. What has already been done in this field has long put socialism far ahead of the most democratic capitalist states.

The Party and the Soviet state, however, do not intend to rest on their laurels. In the political as well as the economic field the new frontiers of progress attained by Soviet society afford a still clearer view of the tasks facing it and of its new possibilities.

It is quite natural, therefore, that problems of developing democracy in this country are raised, worked out and consistently resolved precisely by the Communist Party. The reason for that is that the Party concentrates and meets in its political decisions the vital interests and needs of all classes and social groups, all nations and national minorities, all generations of Soviet society, but that is not the only reason. The Leninist Communist Party itself is a profoundly democratic body affiliating more than 15 million front-ranking members of the working class, collective farmers and members of the intelligentsia. The strenuous efforts of the Party to reinforce the Leninist principles of Party life, to communicate the spirit of these rules to the entire multi-millioned communist membership have naturally created within Party organizations an atmosphere of comradeship and creativity, and, at the same time, of exactness and high-principledness.

Several important directions of work being moved to the foreground in this country's political development were emphasized at the 25th Party Congress.

One of them is, as before, the effort to bring into full play all the potentials of socialist government by the people inherent in the working people's mass organizations, primarily in the Soviets of

Working People's Deputies, which make up the political foundation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Further progress towards communism also requires the trade unions, the Young Communist League, the creative unions of intellectuals, and other public associations to play a greater part in political, economic, and cultural affairs.

The Party has outlined important tasks to be fulfilled in the continued efforts to strengthen the rule of law. Soviet laws express the will of the working class and all working people. It is important that they should be observed scrupulously. They are equally binding on all Soviet citizens regardless of their official position or the nature of the work they do. Strong socialist legality guarantees the rights and interests of Soviet citizens, as well as the interests of society as a whole.

Quite naturally, Soviet laws do not recognize anybody's "right" to harm society, to infringe on the public order, to disturb the normal life, work, and leisure of honest citizens. Universal respect for the law, the inevitability of sanctions against offenders, cultivation in Soviet citizens of intolerance of any antisocial behaviour are important aspects of socialist community life.

The development and improvement of the socialist way of life demand more vigorous opposition to anything that contradicts the Leninist principles of attitude towards work and towards individuals. This refers primarily to the struggle against bureaucratic routine, which Lenin stigmatized as the worst enemy of the new society, and to protection of Soviet citizens against callousness and incivility, red tape and arrogance on the part of certain officials. The Party is intolerant of any such attitudes, which are alien to a society building communism.

The 25th Party Congress reaffirmed the principle that criticism and self-criticism are an inalienable feature of Soviet life. They are a powerful and highly efficient instrument of socialist democracy. The Party believes that a businesslike, public and well-meant critical discussion of the state of affairs in any area, as well as a self-critical analysis of the shortcomings in evidence, must be part and parcel of the work style of each organization and each labour collective.

It is our aim to get every citizen to understand and feel that the management of public affairs and the very progress of society depend

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¹ L. I.
vol. 5, p.

on him personally, on his work performance and political activity. Socialist democracy grants all citizens broad rights and freedoms and requires them to display a high level of awareness and self-discipline, social responsibility and civic activity. The higher the level of political awareness, the less need there is for any restrictions. Hence the ever-growing importance of all aspects of educational work.

The 25th Party Congress has outlined great and varied tasks in further developing and perfecting the political system of Soviet society. In its consistent and sustained efforts to fulfil these tasks, to strengthen the state, and to advance socialist democracy the Party attaches top priority to the interests of the Soviet people, the interests of communist construction. "Whatever contradicts these interests we reject, and nobody will convince us that this is the wrong approach. We are firm in the knowledge of what direction we take in advancing our political system. We are convinced that we have chosen the right course", Leonid Brezhnev has said.¹

The Soviet Union has advanced a long way in the political as well as the economic and social fields. Our Party is strong enough and confident of its rightness to review this road objectively, without embellishing anything. It was a hard road indeed. We had to build socialism under incredibly difficult conditions and under constant attack from our enemies. The Party and the Soviet people were blazing the trail across unknown terrain with no experience, their own or anybody else's, to rely upon. They had to learn many practical lessons, not only from their successes but also from their mistakes and failures. The Party frankly admits that, boldly exposes shortcomings and corrects them, and takes whatever measures are necessary to prevent any digression from the Leninist rules. For all the complications encountered on that road, however, nothing can detract from the worldwide significance of the historic triumphs achieved by the world's first socialist country and the Party founded by the great Lenin. This accounts for the lasting value of the experience in socialist construction which has been gained by the Soviet Union and is being thoroughly studied throughout the world.

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and articles*, Moscow, 1976, vol. 5, p. 546.

Our experience is there for all to see. The Soviet communists do not push it on anybody, but they are naturally glad to see it being used creatively by our friends and fraternal parties in their own work, contributing to the common treasure of worldwide experience in revolutionary struggle and enriching it with new tactics and new solutions to economic, social, and political problems. The Soviet communists well remember this phrase of Lenin's: 'All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life.'¹

Developments have shown the truth and profundity of Lenin's idea. Developments have shown at the same time that for all the variety of prevailing conditions, for all the differences in the forms of transition to socialism, there are basic laws governing this historic process—laws that can neither be abolished nor evaded. One of these is that socialist transformations require the working class and its allies to establish government capable of defending the gains of the revolution. This government should be capable of effectively performing its constructive functions, of releasing the mighty creative forces of the people, and of mobilizing the most active support of the mass of the people. This is the universal, international significance of the Leninist teaching on the socialist state and socialist democracy first translated into social practice by this country's working people under the guidance of the working class and its vanguard, the great Party of Lenin.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

The 25th Party Congress has demonstrated anew the Party's unswerving loyalty to Lenin's ideas. All Soviet foreign policy—from Lenin's Decree on Peace to the Programme of continued efforts for peace and international co-operation, for the freedom and independence of

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 30, p. 123.

nations adopted by the 25th Party Congress—is pervaded with Lenin's ideas and aimed at implementing them in real life.

“... From the very beginning of the October Revolution,” Lenin has said, “foreign policy and international relations have been the main questions facing us”¹

The triumph of the October Revolution placed this problem on an absolutely new plane as a problem of the principles and conditions on which relations between the first ever socialist state and the capitalist world would be founded. This problem was especially acute in view of the fact that in the years when the Soviet Republic was, as Lenin put it, in “international isolation” it was a life and death question for the revolution, for the new society it had bred.

The principles of socialist foreign policy were worked out in an extremely difficult international situation, which was complicated by a bitter controversy within the Party itself. Lenin's genius and iron will, the wisdom and maturity of the Party he had fostered, were required to work out and consistently pursue the only correct policy—a policy of peaceful coexistence, or, as it was then termed, a policy of “peaceful cohabitation” of the two different systems of ownership, the two opposite economic, social, and political systems.

At that time, of course, there was no question of banishing war from international life. The great realist Lenin understood that the imperialist powers would not leave Russia alone and that the peace won in the hard struggle could only be a deferment of war, no more than a peaceful respite.

This country had that respite. We gained two decades of peace time. That helped us to win a war which was the most terrible and bloodiest of all wars mankind had ever known.

The rout of the Axis powers and the far-reaching social and political changes in the world that followed brought about a radical change in this country's position on the international scene and led to the emergence of the world socialist system.

Today the Soviet Union is advancing along the road of socialist and communist construction hand in hand with quite a few fraternal

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 37, p. 153.

countries. We are united with them by our common goals and interests, ideals and policies. The socialist community of nations is exerting an increasingly profound influence on the course of world developments, on the hearts and minds of millions of people.

Unshakeable guarantees that no aggressor or coalition of aggressors will be able to defeat socialism have already been established and grow stronger year after year. Nevertheless, the question of the foundations on which relations should be built between the socialist and capitalist worlds has not lost its significance and gravity, because it is a question of war and peace. As it was reaffirmed at the 25th Party Congress, this remains the most crucial question of our day.

Though this is by no means a new question, it is put and is being solved in a new way today. This is due to the new factors that emerge in international relations as the power and influence of world socialism grow, as the working-class movement continues to mount, and the national liberation movement wins new victories. This is also due to the development of new weapons of enormous destructive power, which make the consequences of war truly catastrophic. This creates realistic prerequisites, on the one hand, and inevitable necessity on the other, for reducing and eventually removing the danger of another world war and, if I may say so, of expanding the limits of peaceful coexistence. The goal the Party is pursuing now is not to gain a peaceful respite but to establish a just and lasting peace on earth.

The last few years have seen a radical turn from the Cold War to peaceful coexistence of states belonging to different social systems. This success has been gained in a sharp struggle, through intensive and complex work. As the Party had expected, the road towards the consolidation of peace was not an easy one. However, we advanced and will advance along this road indefatigably, never losing sight of our goal. This was re-emphasized by Leonid Brezhnev at the 25th Party Congress.

As is known, the policy of peaceful coexistence implies negotiating agreements, a quest for mutually acceptable, at times compromise, solutions, and organizing mutually beneficial co-operations with capitalist states. This was the case in Lenin's lifetime and is also the case today.

At the same time, our policy is a class policy as regards both its principles and its aims.

It is a class policy because it stems from the vital interests of socialism, the interests of socialist and communist construction. The new society needs peace, since it is easier to build a new society with a relaxation of tensions and a reduction in the arms burden.

Soviet foreign policy is a class policy also because the Party, while pursuing persistently a consistent and sincere policy of peace, firmly adheres to the principles of proletarian internationalism and solidarity with the peoples' struggle for freedom and social progress. There is no contradiction here. In the conditions of *détente* we do not expect the monopoly *bourgeoisie* and the governments complying with its will to side with the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat or the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. The Soviet Union is not making such demands on the West. For its part, the Soviet Union reasonably expects not to be faced with demands for renouncing its solidarity with the fighters against exploitation and colonial oppression.

The Soviet Union has no intention to interfere in the affairs of other countries or to "export" revolution. Revolution, as Lenin has said, is bred by society's own development. It "cannot be made to order, or by agreement" in a foreign country.¹ Every people itself shapes its own destiny. However, if it takes the path of struggle, and is forced to fight the colonialists and repel attacks from foreign invaders and hired assassins, it may rely on our solidarity.

Our policy is a class policy also because it stems from a realistic awareness of the deep-seated divisions between states belonging to opposite social systems, which make their competition and a struggle of ideas inevitable. We are strongly convinced, however, that this must not undermine lasting peace and good relations that the Soviet Union offers to other countries.

This country is seeking to make the competition between states with differing social systems truly peaceful, free from military rivalry and constructive rather than destructive in nature. Such a

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 36, p. 457.

competition would open up broad prospects for mutually beneficial co-operation as well.

As far as the ideological struggle is concerned, the communists believe that no one can "abolish" it, just as no one can "abolish" the class struggle in general. Ideas reflect the interests of the social classes, their aims and ideals, their concepts of the ways of social development. As long as these ideas and concepts are in conflict the ideological struggle is inevitable.

The principles of peaceful coexistence, however, imply abstention from interference in each other's internal affairs under the guise of a struggle between ideas. In this area, however, a rather strange situation may be observed.

The very same circles and leaders of the capitalist world who accuse communists of hampering *détente* by vindicating the struggle of ideas themselves by no means renounce their ideological struggle against socialism. In this respect we constantly witness campaigns of lies and slander, attempts to conduct propaganda by methods which were in great favour during the Cold War and which must certainly be abandoned now in the period of *détente*.

It goes without saying that a relaxation of tensions implies a widening of cultural ties, of contact between individuals, and information exchange. This country has signed quite a few agreements in these fields and is determined to abide by them scrupulously. One should remember, however, the content and purpose of these agreements. These were steps designed to strengthen mutual trust and mutual understanding, to help consolidate peace and develop mutually beneficial co-operation.

We did not agree, however, on facilitating actions designed to harm socialism. The plans of reactionary circles connected with them are absolutely alien to the relevant sections of the Final Act signed at Helsinki.

Speaking of peaceful coexistence and the ideological struggle, it is also important to keep in mind the following. *Détente* itself is still the subject of bitter ideological controversy. Perhaps no other issue is arousing so much discussion and heated debates now.

Disputes about *détente* have become part of the internal struggle which has flared up in many Western countries. The enemies of

détente are becoming more vociferous. In the heat of argument one may often hear statements harking back in content and even in phraseology to the Cold War. The world listened to such effusions for a quarter-century. They proved only one thing: the Cold War policy, the policy "from positions of strength" is senseless and dangerous. It is a threat to all, a threat to peace. It is dangerous and pointless for the West itself.

In the nuclear era there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence. It is beyond doubt that whatever turn may be taken by developments in the near future, the interests of the peoples and the objective trends in the development of international relations will call for the maintenance and promotion of *détente* and for enforcing the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The objective nature of these processes, however, does not relieve governments and political leaders of their responsibility. A hold-up in the progress of *détente*, let alone its backsliding, may cost dearly, leading not only to a senseless waste of material resources but also to dangerous exacerbations in the international situation.

The struggle for peace, peaceful coexistence and *détente* has grown into the broadest and most massive democratic movement on earth. This lends a new dimension to the responsibility of the communists, who are in the vanguard of all democratic progressive movements. Following the splendid traditions of proletarian internationalism, the communists oppose the multinational bloc of the enemies of peace and social progress by their united front, their solidarity, and their ability to rally the mass of the people. Today there is perhaps no better way of paying tribute to the memory of Lenin than being equal to these requirements and tasks and working tirelessly to implement them.

We live in a glorious and unique epoch when the most radiant dreams, the most daring plans of the working people, are coming true and materializing. This lends a special historic meaning to the struggle and constructive activities of the working class placed by history in the vanguard of social progress, to the struggle and activities of the Marxist-Leninist parties. Hence the lasting significance of Lenin's heritage of profound ideas and his immortal art of revolutionary creativity.

Celebrating Lenin's birthday each year, we draw new strength, as it were, from the life-giving source of Leninism. We learn from Lenin the science and art of finding creative solutions to problems raised by life.

The Party and country have started implementing the majestic tasks outlined by the 25th Party Congress. The Congress decisions embody Lenin's ideas developed creatively. Working to translate them into reality we are confidently advancing along the path charted by Lenin.

Long live the Soviet people following the Leninist path of communist construction!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Leninists!

Long live Marxism-Leninism, the international teaching of the working people of the whole world!

Faith in Communism as the Source of Inspiration for the Builders of a New World

**Speech at a solemn meeting in Moscow
commemorating the centenary of
F. E. Dzerzhinsky's birth, 9 September
1977**

Comrades!

Today we are celebrating the centenary of the birth of Felix E. Dzerzhinsky, an outstanding Communist Party leader and Soviet statesman, an associate of the great Lenin, one of the most illustrious members of the splendid cohort of Bolshevik Leninists.

Lenin and the Leninist generation of Bolsheviks were advanced to the political arena by the entire course of social development, and they themselves actively influenced the course of history. Their faith in the correctness of Marxist doctrine, their infinite devotion to the Party and working-class cause, their preparedness for self-sacrifice, their inflexible will and great humaneness, made up the image of these fighters steeled in the crucible of revolutionary struggle.

Rallied around Lenin and united by their common faith in his ideas, the Bolshevik Leninists constituted that stable core of leaders maintaining continuity, without which, to use Lenin's phrase, no revolutionary *movement* can be durable.¹

"... Only people who were truly brave and high-principled, only those who were not scared of either selfless, hard work or police persecution, those who placed the working people's happiness above everything else, only those people were capable of the exploit per-

¹ V. I. Lenin *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 124.

formed by the first Leninist generation of communists of this country."¹

AN ARDENT COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARY

Everyone who reads about Dzerzhinsky's life and work admires the life of struggle full of incredible hardships and mortal danger he had to live along with all those who led Russia's proletariat in the battle against the tsarist autocracy and oppression by the exploiter classes.

His Party comrades and associates in the revolutionary struggle called Dzerzhinsky "the knight of revolution", "a proletarian Jacobin", "the iron Felix". He called himself by a much more modest name—a soldier of the revolution. As a soldier loyal to his duty and oath of allegiance, Dzerzhinsky defended the Party cause and struggle for a happy life of the working people as long as he lived. His communist convictions made him a staunch fighter, a professional revolutionary, and was the inexhaustible source of his energy and revolutionary ardour. He traversed the path from membership of the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania to membership of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, one of the organizers and leaders of the Great October Socialist Revolution and socialist construction.

As a youth of seventeen years of age Dzerzhinsky pledged to "fight against evil to the last breath". He remained loyal to this pledge always and everywhere. Imprisoned in the Warsaw citadel by tsarist authorities, Dzerzhinsky wrote in a letter from his cell: "One should have an intrinsic awareness of the necessity to meet one's death for the sake of life, to go to jail for the sake of freedom and have the will-power to live through the hell of life with open eyes, looking for beauty, truth and happiness in this life."²

At the time of the October Revolution Dzerzhinsky was forty years old. He had worked for revolution for nearly half of his life. He had a record of eleven years of jail, exile and hard labour. He had escaped

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and articles*, vol. 4, p. 203.

² F. E. Dzerzhinsky, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1967, p. 533.

from exile three times. After every escape he continued his revolutionary work underground.

Dzerzhinsky was a model of a genuine internationalist who was fully aware of the significance of the class struggle. A son of the Polish people oppressed by tsarism and an ardent Polish patriot, he was able to rise above the narrow nationalistic interests professed by the *bourgeoisie* and to realize that a true solution to the nationalities problem could be found only in alliance with the workers and peasants of Russia, in the struggle for the social liberation of the working people of the whole country.

Russia at the time was being torn apart by bitter antagonisms. A proletarian revolution was imminent. For that revolution to be accomplished, however, titanic efforts were required to educate and organize the masses.

In the country chained by tsarism, where all that was progressive was ruthlessly suppressed, where the ominous figure of a gendarme symbolized autocratic rule and lawlessness, where thousands of freedom fighters languished in prisons, victory in a revolution critically depended on the existence of a Marxist-Leninist party cemented by iron discipline, common will and actions, full of revolutionary determination and irreconcilable to opportunism of any kind.

"... Give us an organization of revolutionaries, and we will transform Russia!" Lenin wrote.¹ Lenin founded such an organization. Lenin and the Leninist revolutionaries following him, Dzerzhinsky among them, headed the political movement which came to be known as Bolshevism in the history of the Russian and international working-class movement. Lenin and the Bolsheviks, Leninism and Bolshevism, are names and concepts which are linked inseparably in our minds.

The October Revolution was successful primarily because the working people were led by the Bolshevik Party, whose strategy and tactics were based on a scientific understanding of the laws of social development, a party deeply rooted in the midst of the people and capable of channelling the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses towards the achievement of their common goals.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 6, p. 127.

Such a party, however, was necessary not only for overthrowing the old system. It became quite indispensable when the Soviet Republic embarked on a programme of construction demanding great persistence and staunchness.

It was necessary to inspire millions of workers and peasants with faith in the righteous cause of communism and the triumph of its ideals, to stir the masses by concrete plans they could easily understand and lead them to that unprecedented exploit without which it was unthinkable to revive the backward, devastated and famished Russia. "We will build a new world of our own!" In these words of the proletarian anthem, the Bolsheviks proclaimed their faith. And the working people adopted this faith as their own convictions.

The communists devoted all their thoughts and actions to realizing their impassioned desire to advance the working man to the level of a conscious maker of history, to make his life better. "Our communist spirit", Dzerzhinsky said, "is our unity, the common aspirations and will of the proletariat from which we draw inspiration and strength to remove all obstacles in our way."¹

In the process of building a new society the Party creatively develops revolutionary theory and practice and enriches Marxist-Leninist doctrine, thoroughly preserving its revolutionary principles and the spirit of Bolshevism. Its loyalty to Lenin's behests is embodied in the Party's imaginative approach to any problem in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields.

Equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory, the Soviet Congress creatively summed up the experience in building developed socialist society in the USSR, the valuable practical record of the fraternal socialist countries, outlined new targets for our advance towards communism, and comprehensively substantiated the practical ways of achieving the tasks facing Soviet society.

Needless to say, these constructive tasks for their character and scope are hard to compare with those the Party was faced with in the early years of Soviet government. Our present economic strategy, social policy and foreign policy reflect the specific features of the present stage of historical development, the requirements of mature

¹ F. E. Dzerzhinsky, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1977, vol. 1, p. 266.

socialist society. We have for their practical realization such enormous potentials that Lenin and his associates could only predict and dream of in their time. However, the early years of Soviet government and our times have in common what makes an inalienable feature of all our life, what is characteristic of communists in general—implicit faith in the ideals of communism. This has always been and remains the main source of the Soviet people's inexhaustible energy, of the Party's creativity and of all our achievements.

Dzerzhinsky's whole life exemplified such faith in the communist cause.

THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE—THE SUPREME PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONALISM

Speaking of Felix Dzerzhinsky, it is necessary to recall his part in establishing revolutionary law and order and in defending the gains of the October Revolution.

Lenin said in his time "a revolution is worth anything only if it is capable of defending itself . . ."¹

Lenin maintained that the dislodged exploiter classes cannot be abolished immediately after the conquest of power by the proletariat. He predicted that they would put up stiff resistance to the revolution, and that under certain conditions the class struggle may assume an *extremely bitter character*.²

The revolution in Russia bore out Lenin's prevision. Open armed rebellions and secret acts of subversion, terrorism and black-market operations, gangsterism and sabotage—all these were used by the former rich landowners and capitalists with direct support from imperialist forces in a desperate attempt to regain their positions of wealth and power.

Resolute measures were necessary to repel the onslaught of the counter-revolution. One of such retaliatory measures was the establishment of the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for Struggle Against Counter-Revolution and Sabotage. Its first Chairman was

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 37, p. 122.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 39, p. 280.

Felix Dzerzhinsky, who enjoyed the absolute trust of the Party and Lenin.

In keeping with Lenin's instructions, Dzerzhinsky laid the groundwork for the splendid traditions of the state security service. Under his immediate direction this service inscribed quite a few heroic pages in the record of struggle against the enemies of Soviet government.

Dzerzhinsky educated state security men in the spirit of utter devotion to the Party cause and this socialist country. As his associate Menzhinsky wrote, "he was able to merge the work of his Commission into the working-class cause so well that during all those years, in days of victories and in days of hardship, the mass of the workers regarded this work as their own cause and the Commission itself as their own organ of dictatorship, the dictatorship of the proletariat."¹

The class enemies of the Soviet Republic circulated malicious lies about it and the activities of the Commission. Their attempts to depict the revolutionary reforms that were in progress and defence against sabotage and violent resistance as indiscriminate destruction and a reign of terror were deliberate and flagrant untruths. Such inventions and slander were intended to influence the mentality of the petty bourgeois, to mislead the public abroad and discredit the socialist system.

The revolution, indeed, involved destruction. It was destroying, however, only the old world of exploitation and oppression, because without that it was impossible to build a new, socialist world. The Soviet government confiscated landed estates, factories and banks from the landed aristocracy and the capitalists and made them the property of the people. The dislodged classes supported by world capital did whatever they could to frustrate that radical abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man. To thwart their counter-revolutionary plans the Soviet Republic had to resort to revolutionary coercion. That was the only practicable way of defending the revolution in the prevailing situation.

Lenin wrote in this context: "It is indisputable that without revolutionary coercion the proletariat could not have won its victory, but it is just as obvious that revolutionary coercion was a necessary and

¹ Felix E. Dzerzhinsky, *Reminiscences, articles, stories by his contemporaries*, p. 94.

legitimate method of revolution only at certain stages of its development, only under definite and specific conditions, whereas organization of the proletarian masses, organization of the working people was and remains a far more profound and permanent aspect of this revolution, a pre-condition for its victories."¹

As Lenin repeatedly emphasized.

Construction was and remains the main function among all the fundamental functions of the Soviet state. The most conclusive evidence of that is the first decrees of the Soviet government on the land and on peace, its consistent policy of developing the economy and culture, of promoting the unity and brotherhood of all nations and national minorities of this country.

When the Soviet Republic had started its work of economic recovery and reconstruction, the Party entrusted Dzerzhinsky with the solution of formidable economic problems, leaving him in charge of the state security service. He was appointed People's Commissar for Transport Communications and organized the restoration of the war-ravaged network of transport services. Then he was charged with chairmanship of the Supreme National Economic Council and came forward as an active fighter for implementing the Leninist policy of socialist industrialization of the country. He actively contributed to the efforts to build up the iron-and-steel and other industries, to strengthen the country's defence capability, and worked selflessly to convert the USSR into a mighty industrial power. Whatever field the Party assigned him to work in, he invariably displayed his ability to organize people, to infect them with his enthusiasm, and to develop in them a keen sense of responsibility to the country and people.

Emphasizing this responsibility, Dzerzhinsky wrote as follows: "... just as in the days of the October Revolution when the victory of the workers and peasants was secured by their active efforts, self-sacrifice and class consciousness, now on the production front, with the workers in power and the *bourgeoisie* and its ownership of factories and plants abolished, only active and conscious efforts by the mass of the workers can secure our victory."²

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 38, p. 74.

² F. E. Dzerzhinsky, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1977, vol. 2, p. 22.

Those who knew Dzerzhinsky personally, his associates in the revolutionary struggle, his colleagues at work, admired his exceptional integrity of character, his constant concentration on the efforts to cope with the most urgent and difficult tasks. For all his enormous prestige in the Party and among the people, he was an extremely modest man, unusually exacting to himself and attentive to others, intolerant of affectation and bombastic phraseology. "In this revolutionary", Clara Zetkin wrote, "everything was genuine and honest: his love and his hatred, his inspiration and his anger, his words and his deeds."¹

Dzerzhinsky was known for his remarkable personality traits of a true Bolshevik Leninist: closeness to the people, kind-heartedness and humaneness. These qualities became especially obvious in his efforts to help homeless children.

In the early years of Soviet government child homelessness was a formidable and painful problem. The long years of the imperialist First World War and the Civil War had left in their wake more than five million child waifs. Despite the heavy burden of his regular duties and the difficulty of the situation prevailing, Dzerzhinsky, on instructions from the Party, extended the protection of the state security service to the care of homeless children. Millions of children were thus saved and became builders of a new society. This is another vivid evidence of the humanism of Soviet power.

Lenin and the Party paid great attention to making the laws of the new state, to the establishment and development of socialist law and order. This work was of exceptional sociopolitical significance. Fully aware of this fact, Dzerzhinsky struggled indefatigably for progress in this field.

The enemies of the Soviet Republic alleged that the dictatorship of the proletariat was incompatible with legality and the rule of law. That was a lie. In fact, immediately after its advent the new system began making its own laws, extending and developing all democratic achievements of the proletariat. From a tool for suppression of the working people, legislation was converted into a form of expression

¹ Felix E. Dzerzhinsky, *Reminiscences, articles, stories by his contemporaries*, pp. 41-42.

of the will of the workers and peasants. Soviet laws guaranteed the rights and freedoms of the working man, served to establish and maintain new and equitable law and order, and safeguarded society against the activities of hostile forces.

Socialist legality, just as Soviet government in general, was established in fierce battles against its class enemies. It had to be defended, often by force of arms, against saboteurs, anarchists, kulaks (rich peasants), bandits, and other counter-revolutionary elements. This struggle was waged by Red Army men and state security personnel, the workers' and peasants' militia, special-purpose units and armed workers' detachments.

From the early days of the October Revolution the Party pursued a policy of compliance with the Leninist principle of socialist legality in all elements of the machinery of state. This referred equally to the activities of the state security service. Its establishment was an extraordinary measure, dictated by the need to protect the security of the young Soviet Republic. Even in a situation of bitter class war, however, this service operated in strict conformity with revolutionary laws. Dzerzhinsky said in an address to state security servicemen: "... You are obliged to follow the path charted by the Party and Soviet government, the path of revolutionary legality, abiding by government decrees and strictly observing their fulfilment." He invariably demanded in most emphatic terms strict compliance with revolutionary legality in all activities of the state security agencies and the militia, and took immediate action against the slightest abuse of authority.

Soviet laws express the main directions of Party policy and serve as a dependable instrument for state guidance of society. Their distinctive feature is genuine democracy and lofty humanism.

It is known that certain years were clouded by illegal repressions, violations of the principles of socialist democracy, the Leninist norms of Party and state activities. These violations were associated with the personality cult and contradicted the essence of the Soviet system, the character of the political system of socialist society. However, they could not halt the progress of socialism. The Party resolutely denounced and eradicated such violations and established secure guarantees of observance of socialist legality.

Soviet laws are perfected along with the consolidation and develop-

ment of Soviet society. At the same time, they preserve continuity in what matters most—in the principles laid down by Lenin.

A remarkable example of that is the new Soviet Constitution, an outstanding political document of the times. It is a logical expression of all development of the Soviet state, and at the same time it offers a broad perspective of its further progress. The significance of the new Constitution was profoundly revealed in Leonid Brezhnev's report at the CPSU Central Committee's plenary meeting in May 1977.

The nationwide discussion of the draft Constitution conclusively proves that the Soviet people regard the new fundamental law as an embodiment and expression of their will and vital interests. They legitimately associate the democratic nature of the new Constitution with the consistent Leninist policy of the CPSU Central Committee, with the name of Leonid Brezhnev, who has won enormous prestige in the Party and among the people by devoting all his talent and strength to his tireless work for the benefit of the Soviet people, for the triumph of the great cause of communism, for peace throughout the world.

The enemies of socialism for obvious reasons are going out of their way to lessen the impression produced on the world public by the Soviet draft Constitution. Imperialist propaganda is trying to conceal the true meaning of the Soviet fundamental law and maliciously distorting it. This refers particularly to those provisions which formulate our understanding of the relationships between the state and the individual, between the rights and duties of citizens. In the West one may hear allegations to the effect that the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens are sufficiently wide in themselves, but they are reduced to naught by making their enjoyment and application dependent on the interests of the state and society.

Soviet citizens see no contradiction in such dependence. They proceed from the premise that the individual enjoys genuine freedom if his activity is in line with the general trend of social progress.

By liberating man from all forms of social and national oppression socialism creates fundamentally new relations between the state and the individual, linking the interests of society and its members in organic harmony. This integration is deeper and more complete in the phrase of mature socialism.

Soviet laws grant broad political freedoms to every citizen in

accordance with the democratic nature of socialist society. At the same time, they guard the Soviet system against attempts by certain individuals to exploit these freedoms to the detriment of society and the rights of other citizens. This is both democratic and fair, since what serves to strengthen the new society agrees with the vital interests of every honest Soviet citizen.

Naturally, we do not think that the mechanism of socialist democracy has reached the upper limit of development and perfection. It is one of the merits of the draft of the new Constitution that while widening the guarantees of the rights of Soviet citizens it clearly indicates the main lines of perfection of Soviet democracy. Such perfection will go hand in hand with the further development of social relations, the enhancement of the political consciousness of members of Soviet society, their socialist moral and ethical standards.

The nature of socialist society implies an expansion of rights and freedoms as a process organically linked with an enhancement of the responsibility of each of its members to society, the fulfilment of civil duties. Indeed, whenever a member of Soviet society neglects his duties or ignores the standards of social behaviour, he causes harm thereby to himself and to other persons, not to speak of the interests of society.

The great humanist Maxim Gorky wrote in his time: "Yes, I am against freedom, beginning from the line where freedom turns into dissoluteness. . . . This conversion begins where man, losing an awareness of his real social and cultural value, gives free rein to his hidden ancient individualism of a Philistine and shouts: 'I am so charming, so original, so inimitable, yet I am not allowed to live at my own sweet will.' It is not so bad when he only shouts, because when he begins to act at will, he becomes either a counter-revolutionary, or a hooligan. . . ." This statement of Gorky's has fully retained its relevance to date.

For the vast majority of Soviet citizens the fulfilment of their civil duties, respect for the law and abidance by its standards have become an inner want, a matter of habit, a rule of conduct. However, we cannot shut our eyes to facts of an underdeveloped sense of social duty which are still encountered in Soviet society. Embezzlers of socialist property, hoarders, hooligans, money-

grubbers, and persons evading socially useful work are still to be found in Soviet society. Therefore, while displaying utmost concern for intensive educational work, for legal enlightenment of citizens in particular, attaching prime significance to persuasion, the Soviet state at the same time resorts to coercive measures against individuals committing antisocial acts.

In the last few years the Party and government have taken a series of steps to improve the work of administrative bodies and to reinforce them with highly-qualified personnel. Today's tasks ensuing from the new Constitution of the USSR make still higher demands on the competence and efficiency of personnel of the courts of law, procurator's offices, the state security service, the militia, all those whose duty is to maintain socialist law and order.

All these bodies are now functioning under new historical conditions. Their basic function, however, remains unchanged. It is the function of safeguarding vigilantly the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the security of the Soviet state, the Soviet social order.

The traditions laid down by Dzerzhinsky, the traditions of the state security service dating from Lenin's time, serve to this day as an authentic criterion for assessing the qualifications of every member of the state security service and the militia. To be superior to one's adversary intellectually and morally is the only possible way to identify and defeat him. Continuous self-advancement is indispensable to this end.

Communist convictions and high professional competence, moral integrity and loyalty to duty, constant vigilance and responsiveness, tactfulness and faith in people, general culture and a keen sense of civic responsibility—such are the qualities that make up the image of a Soviet security serviceman as seen by Dzerzhinsky and as seen by the people today. These qualities are cultivated by the Party, by the YCL, by all realities of socialist life.

The personnel of the state security service and the internal affairs agencies are fully aware of their responsibility for the area of work entrusted to them. They realize the fact that there are still quite a few shortcomings in their work which require elimination. They understand the need for further advancing the standards of all their

activities, as is demanded by the Party's Central Committee.

The Soviet agencies guarding the security of the state and maintaining law and order derive their strength from constant guidance and unrelenting control by the Communist Party.

They derive their strength from subordination of all their activities to the interests of the people and the Soviet state, from their reliance on their permanent and organic ties with the people, enjoying full trust and support of the masses.

THE IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL UNITY OF SOVIET SOCIETY AND A REBUFF TO THE INTRIGUES OF THE ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM

Today, when this whole country is preparing to celebrate the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and when we are casting our mind's eye down the path we have traversed, we can see that all enormous constructive work of the Soviet people was carried out in a situation of unending struggle against the forces which stood in the way of this country's socialist progress, interfered by various means with our efforts to build a new life and attempted to strangle the Soviet Union.

We have experienced and lived through foreign military intervention, economic blockade, counter-revolutionary conspiracies, fascist aggression, atomic blackmail.

The realities of life have shown the indestructibility of the Soviet system, the unflagging determination of the Soviet people to defend the gains of the October Revolution.

The enemies of socialism, however, are still unwilling to desist from their attempts to undermine the new system or at least to hinder its development if it is impossible to overthrow it by force of arms. They are waging a struggle against socialism in the political and economic fields, as well as in that specific field where intelligence services are operating, where espionage and subversion, including ideological subversion, are used.

The imperialist special services are shamelessly distorting the aims and the very essence of the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state,

denigrating Soviet reality and implementing in the ideological field other operations which are intended, in effect, to undermine the Soviet system and have been rightly called ideological subversion. They are seeking to erode and weaken the communist convictions of Soviet citizens, to implant in their minds views and morals alien to socialism and eventually to try and engineer political and social changes in Soviet society to the advantage of imperialism.

All this is, unfortunately, an inalienable part of the realities of the harsh world we are living in. Therefore, today too we must display high vigilance and take whatever measures are necessary to neutralize the subversive intrigues of the enemies of socialism. The Party regards this as the duty of not only the state security agencies but also all government and public organizations, all communists, all citizens of this country.

We have full reason to consider the unity of Soviet society our greatest achievement. History has never known a social system like ours, one that could unite in a friendly family all classes and social groups of society, all nations and national minorities of the country. However, it is precisely because the ideological and political unity of Soviet society has become a major source of its strength that the enemies of socialism are directing their most vehement attacks against this unity.

This is, in particular, the reason for the vociferous campaign of Western propaganda over the issue of "human rights" and the so-called "dissidents". It should be said that the very term "dissident" is a shrewd propaganda trick designed to mislead the public. This word is applied, as is known, to one who disagrees with the majority. Bourgeois propaganda has given currency to this term in an effort to prove that the Soviet system is intolerant of independent thought among Soviet citizens and persecutes anyone who "thinks differently" from what is allegedly prescribed by official policy. Such allegations have nothing in common with the truth.

In one of his recent statements Leonid Brezhnev clearly presented the Party stand on this question. "In our society nobody is forbidden to 'think differently' from the majority, to assess critically this or that aspect of social life. We regard comrades who come forward with justified criticism, trying to help matters, as conscientious critics and

are thankful to them. Those who criticize by mistake we regard as deluded individuals."¹

It would be educative for bourgeois ideologists to read Article 49 in the draft of the new Soviet Constitution. It clearly formulates the right of Soviet citizens to criticism and to making proposals for consideration by various bodies. Moreover, it expressly forbids persecution for criticism in this country.

The matter is different when a few individuals who have divorced themselves from Soviet society engage in anti-Soviet activity, violate the law, supply the West with slanderous information, circulate false rumours, and attempt to provoke various antisocial incidents. These renegades have not and cannot have any support within the country. This is precisely why they do not dare to come out openly at a factory, on a collective farm or in an office. They would have to take to their heels from there, figuratively speaking. The existence of the so-called "dissidents" has been made possible exclusively by the fact that the enemies of socialism have geared the Western press, diplomatic, as well as intelligence and other special services to work in this field. It is no longer a secret to anyone that "dissidence" has become a profession of its own kind, which is generously rewarded with foreign currency and other sops that differ but little, in effect, from what the imperialist special services pay to their agents.

Some Western figures invite us to explain what is in their view an "embarrassing" question: why are there "dissidents" in the USSR after sixty years of Soviet government?

This question is "embarrassing" only at first glance. Indeed, it would be unrealistic to imagine that among the Soviet population of over 250 million there are no individuals thinking differently from the vast majority on some specific issues.

We know from statements by Marx and Engels and from real life that the moulding of the new man requires much time and effort, even more than is taken by deep-going socioeconomic transformations. Moreover, the moulding of the new man in the socialist countries is a process taking place not in a vacuum but in conditions

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and articles*, Moscow, 1978, vol. 6, p. 336.

of a stiffening ideological and political struggle in the international arena. Comparing the sixty-year record of the new life with the thousand-year-old tradition of private ownership psychology and morals, one need not be surprised to discover occasionally in Soviet society individuals who are at odds with the collectivist principles of socialism. Such individuals, however, are dwindling in number, and we have every reason to regard this fact as our great success.

When every fundamental decision on home and foreign policy is submitted to a nationwide discussion, as is the case with the draft of the new Constitution now, when Party policy is embraced by the Soviet people as their own vital cause, when practically 100 per cent of the electorate vote for this policy, is it not conclusive evidence of the ideological and political unity of Soviet society?

This does not mean, however, that developed socialist society is guaranteed against the appearance of individuals whose actions are incompatible with either moral or legal norms of Soviet society. The reasons for this are various: political or ideological delusions, religious fanaticism, nationalistic obsessions, resentment caused by personal offence or failures interpreted as the result of underestimation of one's merits and abilities by society, and even mental imbalance to be found in some individuals. All of such cases do occur in our society. The construction of a new society, a new communist civilization is a complex and difficult process. And it cannot be otherwise.

As I have said, in Soviet society deluded individuals are helped through persuasion to correct their mistakes. Different measures are required when some of the so-called "dissidents" commit acts infringing Soviet laws. There is a handful of such persons in this country, just as, unfortunately, there are thieves, bribe-takers, profiteers, and other criminals. All of them cause harm to Soviet society and have to be penalized in accordance with the law.

All talk about humanism in such instances is irrelevant. We consider it humane to stop in good time the activity of those who are interfering with the normal life and work of Soviet citizens.

By the way, the number of citizens convicted for their anti-Soviet activity in this country is now smaller than at any time in the history of Soviet government. They are literally a paltry handful. This is the

logical result of the consolidation of the new society.

Such is the result of the struggle against bourgeois psychology.

The ideological struggle has been going on for a long time. This struggle is a process, by its very existence, between the old and the new, and it is inevitable.

The forces of the old are trying to vary the course of development in the countries of the East. In part of the time, a special launch is made, and a special aim is set in their development. They achieve a relaxation of the pace of development, a co-operation with the forces of the old, a course of development in a situation where the leading role is played by the forces of the old. They believe in the left wing of the movement. They are the forces of the old.

logical result of the political and socioeconomic processes of further consolidation of the unity of Soviet society.

Such is the true state of affairs as far as the so-called "dissidents" are concerned. It is as far removed from the scenes painted by bourgeois propaganda as heaven from earth.

The ideological struggle between the socialist and capitalist world has been going on since the early days of the October Revolution. This struggle is generated by the objective laws of social development, by the very existence and struggle of social classes, by the existence of states belonging to different social systems. Relations between these states may change, but the struggle of ideas remains an inevitable accompaniment to their coexistence.

The forms and methods of ideological struggle, however, are liable to vary with changes in relations between socialist and capitalist countries. The ideological struggle was an inalienable and important part of these relations in the period of the Cold War as well. At that time, a specific type of propaganda—"psychological warfare"—was launched through the efforts of the imperialist governments, and a special mechanism was established to conduct this propaganda. Its sole aim was to excite hatred of the socialist countries and to interfere in their internal affairs. Over the last few years a turn has been achieved at the cost of strenuous efforts from the Cold War to a relaxation of international tensions. New relations meeting the interest of nations in preserving peace and developing mutually beneficial co-operation are beginning to take shape between states belonging to different social systems, although this process runs a meandering course and is not always as smooth as it should be. Of course, in this situation too there is no cessation of the ideological struggle, that is the historic dispute over the merits of either social system and ways leading mankind to the summits of social progress. Such a struggle will inevitably continue in the future as well. Nevertheless, our Party believes that clearing the field of ideological struggle from the debris left in the aftermath of the Cold War is an important prerequisite for normalizing the international situation.

This has to be reiterated because the ultrareactionary quarters of the Western powers are stubbornly clinging to the discreditable methods of "psychological warfare". Far from curtailing, they are

stepping up and refining the activities of the agencies specially set up to conduct it, such as Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, émigré organizations hostile to socialism, and other subversive centres. Moreover, it is demanded that we should not cause obstruction to the activities of these organizations.

Why do we oppose such activities? Of course, we have nothing to fear from bourgeois propaganda, even in its most vicious forms. The Party has implicit faith in the ideological staunchness of the Soviet people and is confident that nobody will ever succeed in undermining their unbreakable unity. The reason is different. Constant attempts to interfere in our internal affairs and slanderous propaganda campaigns cannot be interpreted by the Soviet people as anything but evidence of hostile intentions running counter to the principles of *détente*, to the spirit of the Helsinki accords.

This is precisely the reason why these activities are meeting and will meet in the future determined opposition on the Soviet side.

Increasing mutual understanding and trust today is a major prerequisite for success in the efforts to strengthen peace, to limit the arms, to achieve disarmament and normalize the international situation. If the ruling quarters of the United States and other Western powers are prepared, as they claim, to contribute to these efforts, the attempts to fan the atmosphere of hostility should be stopped. This is as clear as day and should be understood in the West, the sooner the better.

Over the six decades since the October Revolution the Soviet people led by the Communist Party have carried out sweeping transformations in all fields of social life and given an example of the practical solutions of fundamental problems advanced to the forefront by the entire course of human history. Today the Soviet people closely rallied behind the Party and its Leninist Central Committee headed by Leonid Brezhnev are confidently advancing towards communism and straining with great political and labour enthusiasm to fulfil the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, to attain the great and complex but inspiring targets of the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

At work and in battle, in all our life, we draw inspiration from Lenin's immortal ideas. We learn to struggle with selfless dedication for the implementation of these great ideas from the Bolshevik

Leninists. Felix Dzerzhinsky was one of them. For us they have always been and remain a model of dedication to communism and revolutionary ardour. They are always with us in the struggle for the triumph of communism. The finest monument to them is the Soviet people's historic accomplishments of worldwide significance.

Long live the Soviet people building communism!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union leading the Soviet people along the path charted by Lenin!

**A High Award for Labour and
for Courage in Battle**
**Speech at the presentation of the Order of
the Red Banner of Labour to the City of
Petrozavodsk, 5 August 1978**

Dear comrades!

The city of Petrozavodsk is to be presented today with the Order of the Red Banner of Labour.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet government, on behalf of General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, I cordially congratulate you on this high award.

The decoration of Petrozavodsk is a recognition of its important role and place in the history of this country, its splendid revolutionary and war record, its significant contribution to the strengthening and further development of the economic and defence potential of the Soviet state. It is also an expression of high appreciation of the labour efforts of communists, workers, collective farmers and members of the intelligentsia, all working people of Soviet Karelia in implementing the assignments of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, the historic decisions of the 25th Party Congress.

Every city makes its own inimitable contribution to the common treasure store of material and cultural wealth of the country. But there are cities, large and small, which have been chosen by history to play a special role in the formation and development of the Russian state and this socialist country. The good fame of these cities does not fade, but lives on and grows with time. A distinctive place among such cities belongs to Petrozavodsk, which has celebrated its bicentenary.

Here under the decree of Tsar Peter I Tula casters and armourers

organized what was at the time large-scale production of iron, firearms and cannon for defence of the frontiers of the Russian state. The city which sprang up around the Peter works became the main industrial and administrative centre of the Olonetsk territory and played an important part in the economic and cultural development of Northern Russia.

Situated a short distance away from the new Russian capital St. Petersburg, Petrozavodsk and the entire Olonetsk territory could not but be influenced by progressive Russian thought, the progressive culture and revolutionary sentiments of the Russian proletariat.

The great Russian poet Derzhavin and the artists Shishkin and Polenov visited and lived in Petrozavodsk at different times.

Here in Karelia, Mikhail Kalinin and other Bolshevik Leninists carried out revolutionary work and inspired the working people with the determination to rise for an assault on the old world, with faith in their righteous cause. A backward and oppressed province of Russia, Karelia was drawn into the powerful mainstream of revolutionary struggle. As far back as 1906 a Social Democratic group adhering to the Bolshevik platform was set up in Petrozavodsk.

Under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, the working people of Karelia expelled from the Olonetsk provincial Soviet the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries who were unwilling to recognize Soviet government and who were insisting on Karelia's secession from revolutionary Russia. In January 1918 the Soviet government won the final victory in Petrozavodsk and set the stage for building a new life on Karelian soil.

The new Soviet government had to cope with formidable problems in overcoming economic and cultural backwardness and the ethnic problems inherited from the old system.

The overthrow of the exploiter system, as had been foreseen by the Marxist-Leninists, brought into play the working people's creativity on a scale unknown before and determined the development of new, socialist statehood which united them in a friendly family of free and equal nations. This was vividly demonstrated by the working class, the toiling peasants of Karelia.

In response to the attempts of the imperialists to tear Karelia away from Soviet Russia by open armed intervention and by organizing

counter-revolutionary actions, the working people of Karelia declared their firm determination to stay with the Soviet Republic, "to defend the workers' and peasants' government to the last drop of blood".¹

The desire of the Karelian people to build a new life in alliance with the Russian and other peoples of the Soviet Republic met with full understanding and support on the part of the Soviet government. The situation taking shape in the territory, the ways and means of solving the most complicated socioeconomic problems, the methods for the most effective solution of the ethnic problems, were the object of close attention and constant concern of Lenin and the government of the young Soviet Republic. Lenin said that he believed in the radiant future of the freedom-loving Karelian people.

By a decree of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee the Karelian Labour Commune was proclaimed on 9 June, 1920. This act reflected a quest for a practical solution to the question of autonomy for nations and national minorities rallying around Soviet Russia. This set the stage for the development of the national statehood of Karelia.

The ideas of international unity were expressed in the resolutions of the 1st All-Karelia Congress, which decreed that the Karelian Labour Commune "must remain in indissoluble union with Soviet Russia and develop its economy and culture in close co-operation with the worker and peasant masses of Russia. . . . Only a close union with Soviet Russia will safeguard Karelia against encroachments by the capitalists".²

Today we can see in the achievements of the working people of Karelia, just as the other peoples of this country, a brilliant practical expression of Lenin's idea of achieving the actual equality of nations as an indispensable prerequisite for securing and strengthening their international fraternal unity.

"In our country", Leonid Brezhnev has said, "there has emerged and strengthened a great brotherhood of working people united irrespective of their nationality by their common class interests and

¹ *Essays on the History of Karelia*, Petrozavodsk, 1964, vol. 2, p. 135.

² *Together with Lenin. Reminiscences, Documents*, Petrozavodsk, 1970, p. 318.

aims, there have emerged relations without precedent in history which we rightly call the Leninist friendship of nations. This friendship is our priceless possession, one of the most significant achievements of socialism which are cherished by every Soviet citizen. We Soviet people will always cherish this friendship as the apple of our eye."¹

At the stage of developed socialism, nations reach new summits of progress and draw still closer together and the economy and culture of all Soviet nations and national minorities develop comprehensively. The Party consistently implements the principles of internationalism in the field of inter-ethnic relations and strengthens the friendship of nations as one of the fundamental achievements of socialism. Irreconcilable struggle against all manifestations and survivals of nationalism and chauvinism, against the trends of nationalistic narrow-mindedness and exclusiveness, idealization of the past and the glossing over of social antagonisms in the history of nations, against the customs and mores interfering with communist construction is an immutable principle of the Party's nationalities policy.

The fraternal friendship of nations, the unbreakable unity of Soviet society, became still stronger in the crucible of the Great Patriotic War and honourably withstood this test.

Heroic Soviet soldiers and partisans—Karels and Russians, members of other nations of this socialist country—shed their blood on Karelian soil. Tens of thousands of Karelian men and women were decorated by the government for their courage and heroism and twenty-eight of them were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. Eight of these heroes are natives of Petrozavodsk.

Petrozavodsk fought in the war and healed its war wounds together with the whole country. The city lay in ruins and it seemed impossible to rebuild it in a short time. The will and persistence of the Soviet people, however, gave it a new lease of life. The new, beautiful capital of Karelia rose from its ashes literally before our eyes.

What has been accomplished by the working people of the Republic, of Petrozavodsk first and foremost, particularly during the past few years, has completely changed the face of our land.

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and articles*, vol. 4, p. 50.

Soviet Karelia today is as before a beautiful land of forests and lakes, but it is also an industrial region with scores of new large modern factories and plants. Along with the development of such traditional industries as the fishing and timber industries, rapid progress is being made by new industries—general engineering, power and non-ferrous metallurgy supplying the needs of many areas of the country. Products of the Petrozavodsk Engineering Complex are well known outside the Republic. The Onega Works accounts for over one-half of the output of timber-hauling tractors manufactured in the Russian Federation. Newsprint produced at Kondopozh is used to print the Party's central organ—the newspaper *Pravda*.

The forty million roubles' worth of products over and above plan manufactured and marketed by Karelia's industrial enterprises over the last two and a half years of the current five-year plan is evidence of the increased scope of industrial production and the tense, enthusiastic work of the Republic's working class. Standing behind this figure are tens of millions of kilowatt-hours of electric power, hundreds of tractors and machine-tools, timber and pulp wood, fish and other products.

More than a quarter of Karelia's industrial output is produced in Petrozavodsk. Over the last two years of the current five-year plan the city's industrial output has increased almost 13 per cent. In the first half of the current year it has grown 7 per cent from the corresponding period of last year.

Today the people of Petrozavodsk are adding to the fame of those who struggled for the establishment of Soviet government here, who fought the invaders, and took part in rebuilding the city. Widely known beyond the boundaries of the Republic are the names of Heroes of the Soviet Union: Pavel Chekhonin, a turner of the Onega Tractor Works; Klavdia Petushkova, a brick-layers' team leader; Ilya Ovchinnikov, a building work team leader; Ivan Huttunen, a worker of a house-building complex; Evgeny Bekrenev, a worker of the "Petrozavodskmash" engineering complex; Evgeny Larchenko, a smith at the locomotive yard; Lidia Kopat, a worker of the mica factory, who has already fulfilled her assignments for four years of the current five-year plan. Many other workers follow their example in their work performance.

No praise is too high for the splendid work of personnel of the public education and health services, scientists and cultural workers, and workers of the consumer-oriented services. The art of E. S. Tomberg, People's Artist of the USSR, the writer A. N. Timonen, State Prize Winner of the Russian Federation, the composer G. N. Sinisalo, People's Artist of the USSR, is part and parcel of Soviet national culture.

The Order of the Red Banner of Labour is to be presented to Petrozavodsk at a time when this country has passed the equator, if I may say so, of the Tenth Five-Year Plan. The main political result of the past half of the five-year plan period is the successful implementation of the tasks outlined by the 25th Party Congress. A new important step has been taken in the solution of major social problems, in the further development and perfection of socialist democracy. The dynamic and steady development of the country's entire national economy has been ensured.

The immeasurably increased economic potential of this country can be illustrated by the following figures. Over the last two and a half years output has been greater than that during all prewar five-year plans: in electric power 9.5 times, oil 4.6 times, steel 2.6 times, mineral fertilizers 10 times. Such is the tremendous growth in Soviet production today.

Satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs has always been and remains a matter of prime importance to the Party. Therefore, we are particularly proud of the spectacular record of fulfilment of the social tasks. In the first half of this year the average monthly earnings of factory and office workers were equal to almost 160 roubles as compared with 146 roubles in 1975. In Karelia this figure is even higher: 188 roubles. Over the period almost 5 million apartments have been built in the country, which has made it possible to improve the housing conditions of 25 million persons. There has been an increase in payments and benefits available from social consumption funds; they amounted to an enormous sum—50,000 million roubles—in the last half-year alone.

We do not conceal the fact that not all problems have yet been solved. We still experience shortcomings in supplies, shortages of high-quality goods and housing. Every honest working man and

woman knows, however, that these difficulties tend to decrease year after year, that the Soviet state follows the line of fulfilling complex tasks which can and must be accomplished with the most active support and participation of all Soviet citizens wherever they may work.

The 24th and 25th Party Congresses advanced to the foreground the task of intensifying social production and of enhancing the efficiency and quality of all work. This is an objective requirement, a law issuing from the realities of life. Today it is necessary to fulfil plans not at any cost but with minimum inputs of manpower and materials. The essence of the policy of advancing efficiency lies in an ability to use skilfully, in a truly rational way, the enormously increased potentialities and advantages of the Soviet economy, the rich experience accumulated over the six decades of Soviet government, the competence and skills of our excellent specialists, the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution.

The July 1978 plenary meeting of the Party's Central Committee closely examined the problems involved in the continued advancement of agriculture. Leonid Brezhnev analysed in comprehensive and profound detail the Party's activities in developing agriculture at the present stage. In his report he formulated the principles and practical measures outlining the main ways of converting agriculture into a highly-developed sector of the national economy, of securing its further progress in accordance with the Leninist agrarian policy.

Experience has proved the correctness of the line charted by the March 1965 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. The Party's agrarian policy is being translated into reality by the efforts and will of the Soviet people. The material and technological facilities of agriculture have been reinforced considerably. Much has also been done to develop those branches of industry which supply agriculture with machines, equipment and mineral fertilizers. The implementation of the comprehensive programme of advancing agriculture is already yielding tangible results. Over the last seven years the average annual gross output of farm products has grown almost 50 per cent from the corresponding period before the March plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. For instance, grain production has increased by 61.5 million tons and production of raw cotton by

3 million tons. Positive shifts are also in evidence in the development of stock breeding.

The plenary meeting reaffirmed the necessity to continue the line of intensifying agricultural production on the basis of its all-round mechanization and electrification, chemicalization and land reclamation. At the same time, the meeting pointed out the need to increase output per unit of manpower inputs and investments.

It is clear that determination of the concrete ways and means of further advancing agriculture extends far beyond the limits of this sector of the economy. The decisions of the Central Committee's plenary meeting are of general significance for the entire national economy.

The implementation of the measures outlined for the continued advancement of agriculture, just as the fulfilment of the assignments of the five-year plan as a whole, is determined in the final analysis by the work performance of each working man and woman, every labour collective in town and country. This, of course, is a matter of prime concern to Party organizations, to every communist.

In this country the communist has been and remains invariably the leading figure in town and country. As Leonid Brezhnev has said, the communist has never had, nor has he now, any special benefits or privileges except for one privilege and one duty—to lead the way in an attack in wartime and to give more strength and energy than others for the common cause in peacetime, to struggle and work better than others for the triumph of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Today, as in the past, the communists are leading the way, setting splendid examples of selfless work, intolerance of manifestations of negligence and mismanagement, breaches of labour discipline and offenders against socialist morals. It is the duty of every communist to stand up vigorously for his convictions, to encourage people, to inspire them with confidence and determination, to lead them in all situations.

The constructive efforts of Karelia's working people are guided by the Republic's Party organization, a time-tested and battle-hardened contingent of the Leninist Party. At all stages of the formation and development of Soviet Karelia its party organization stirred its people to action in peacetime and in wartime, and led them along the right path charted by the Party's Central Committee.

There is no doubt that today too the communists of Karelia will be in the vanguard of the production front of this country. Karelia's working people will indisputably achieve still better results in all areas of communist construction.

The Soviet people are confronted by great and inspiring tasks. They have gained a secure foothold for attaining successfully the targets set by the 25th Party Congress. The Party pursues a time-tested economic and social policy on scientific principles in keeping with the great Marxist-Leninist theory. We have inflexible faith in our righteous cause and the wise leadership of the Soviet Communist Party.

The seventies, particularly their first half, were marked by important changes in world politics, the growth of the positive processes which have come to be known as *détente*. Relations between states belonging to different social systems have been developed with growing reliance on the principles of peaceful coexistence, which have provided the basis for developing mutually beneficial political, economic, and cultural ties. The danger of nuclear missile war has been lessened. The accords and principles recorded in the Final Act of the Helsinki conference signed at summit level three years ago are intended to promote *détente*, to safeguard the security of nations and ensure lasting peace on earth.

It would seem that the road lying ahead is clear. This is a road of patient and constructive settlement of conflicts and differences, new steps to slow down the arms race, to widen and deepen relations between countries belonging to different social systems, between all states of the world. To make *détente* irreversible is the task set before mankind by history. This has been clearly and consistently stated by Leonid Brezhnev, the leader of the Soviet Communist Party and a loyal Leninist. The Soviet Union and all nations of the socialist community have got down to work with great energy and determination to accomplish this task.

The advantages of *détente* for the peoples of all countries have been clear in the past and today. For all that, Washington's policy has of late been departing more and more appreciably from the stance of political realism, laying emphasis on the exclusive right of the United States to lecture everybody and tending towards moves unfriendly to the Soviet Union and even attempts to put pressure on it.

I have no comment on the extreme, to put it mildly, naivety of those who believe that a language of lecturing and threats may be used to talk to the Soviet Union. The record of international relations since the victory of the October Revolution has proved the absolute futility of attempts to this end. All the more hopeless are such attempts today when our strength has grown immeasurably, when a new life is being built along with the Soviet Union by the fraternal socialist countries, when the scope of anti-imperialist struggle is growing in Asian, African and Latin American countries, when the movement for democracy and social progress is mounting in the capitalist countries. If anybody stands to lose from the ill-conceived actions of the Washington administration, this will certainly be the American side, the American business community in particular.

But let us discuss this question on a different, broader plane. Why is the US administration inclined to retreat under pressure from the enemies of *détente*? Why is the wing gravitating towards the times and practices of the Cold War growing stronger within the American ruling quarters?

The point is that by all indications American imperialism has difficulties in revising its policy to adapt it to the new realities of international life. These realities are as follows.

A relaxation of international tensions is inevitably accompanied by a change in the character of the entire system of international relations. The principles of peaceful coexistence, equality and justice are beginning to play an ever greater part in these relations, which leaves less and less room for a policy of imperialist dictation, pressure and various kinds of "power play". An easing of world tensions stimulates the process of favourable social change, increases the influence of the working class and all working people on the policy of bourgeois governments. At the same time, *détente* has a favourable impact not only on the general atmosphere of world politics but also on the political climate within the capitalist countries.

In other words, *détente* on the one hand gives free scope to the operation of progressive tendencies, and on the other hand compels the ruling circles of the capitalist world to adapt to these tendencies, to introduce corresponding amendments into their foreign and home policy.

Needless to say, different sections of the *bourgeoisie* react differently to these objective dictates of the times.

Some of them, who hold realistic views, are aware of the fact that with the present alignment of forces in the world arena there is no sensible alternative to *détente* and therefore capitalists must adapt to the new situation, that is to recognize the need for peaceful coexistence with the socialist countries and even for co-operation with them, to revise the character of relations with the developing countries, to display greater flexibility on the fronts of social struggle.

Others, known as "hawks", who represent the interests of the military industrial complex, are resisting *détente* for all they are worth. They are calling on the West to take up whatever stick is heavier and wield it until the world lapses into a dangerous East-West confrontation and returns into the trenches of the Cold War.

Finally, there is another section, whose members realize in general outline the disastrous consequences of a global thermonuclear war. They are even prepared to reach limited agreements reducing the level of international tensions. However, they are scared of the change *détente* brings in its wake in international and internal affairs. Hence the instability, vacillations in policy, the growing discrepancy between word and deed, the efforts to play up to the right wing and concessions to the frankly militaristic, ultra-reactionary forces.

Of course, in our day it is not so easy to proclaim for all to hear a renunciation of the policy of *détente*, to call for a retreat to the positions of the Cold War. The enemies of *détente* have to use cunning and to dissemble, to mislead public opinion. This is precisely the reason for reviving the myth of the "Soviet menace" and other vociferous propaganda campaigns.

All this has naturally adversely affected the state of Soviet-American relations and caused relapses of international tensions. This is inseparably linked with the arms race stepped up by imperialism, with increased imperialist interference in the life of foreign nations, with persistent attempts to play the notorious "China card" against the Soviet Union.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government are closely watching the development of the situation and the manoeuvres of the enemies of *détente*. We take account of vacillations in

Washington's policy. At the same time, our own strategic line remains unchanged. The Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev has said, regards as its central aim in international affairs "Prevention of mankind's slipping to war, defence and consolidation of peace, universal, just and durable peace. This is our steadfast policy. It does not depend on any current expediency. It is legislatively laid down in the Soviet Constitution. We translate this policy into reality by all means at our disposal."¹

The struggle for *détente* today is a struggle against the arms race, for peace, for restructuring the system of international relations on truly democratic principles. For the Soviet Union *détente* is a line of principle emanating from the very socioeconomic nature of the Soviet state, a continuation of the policy of peace proclaimed by the October Revolution and bequeathed to us by Lenin.

The foreign policy of the Party and the Soviet state is aimed at securing the most favourable conditions for successful implementation of the breathtaking tasks in communist construction, for maintaining international security and peace on earth.

The Soviet Union invariably comes out in the international arena side by side with other countries of the socialist community. Leonid Brezhnev's recent meetings in the Crimea with leaders of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries have demonstrated again that we have common aims, a common jointly planned strategy, that we realistically appraise the world situation with all its complexities, its pluses and minuses.

The difficulties being encountered by *détente* are to a certain extent inevitable. The world we live in is too heterogeneous. The contradictions dividing the two world systems are too deep-seated. The inertia of the past, the momentum of the Cold War, suspicion and mistrust are too great. We are convinced, however, that the states, social forces and political movements coming out for a relaxation of international tensions will win and secure a strong and lasting peace for all nations.

This is precisely why we display a maximum of restraint and come

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches, messages, articles, reminiscences*, Moscow, 1979, vol. 7, p. 322.

forward with reasonable constructive initiatives. The Soviet Union is prepared to come to an agreement based on the principle of equal security at negotiations on a variety of issues, primarily on strategic arms limitation and at the Vienna talks.

We can see that the chills coming from Washington in certain cases unfortunately affect some West European capitals. We hope, however, that their political wisdom will enable our partners to overcome their time-serving vacillations and zigzags. The Soviet Union's European policy remains unchanged. It has repeatedly stated that a normalization of the political climate in Europe is one of the most crucial peaceful achievements of the last decade, that this achievement must be constantly supported, strengthened and widened. This is particularly important now when the enemies of *détente* are again exacerbating the international situation. Our stand is clear. Europe must become a continent of peace and good-neighbourly co-operation.

Here in Karelia I cannot but emphasize the full significance of the long record of good-neighbourly, truly equitable and mutually beneficial co-operation between the Soviet Union and Finland. Soviet-Finnish relations today are an integral and stable system of co-operation on a basis of equality in various political, economic and cultural fields. This is in fact an example of *détente* embodied in daily contacts, *détente* which makes peace stronger and human life better and safer. This is in the final analysis the highly humane purpose of socialist foreign policy, the foreign policy efforts of the Party and the Soviet government.

The international positions of this country are strong and stable. Aware of its material and spiritual strength, confident of its rightness, loyal to its internationalist duty, the Soviet Union has always been and remains a consistent champion of the cause of peace, the freedom and independence of nations.

I warmly congratulate you again and wish you and all working people of Karelia good health, a happy life, new great success in your efforts to implement the Party's decisions, in your work for the benefit of the entire Soviet people.

Long live the Soviet people building communism under the leadership of the Leninist Party!

**Under the Banner of Lenin,
Under Party Leadership**
**Speech at a meeting with the Stupino
District constituency on the occasion of
nomination for election to the Supreme
Soviet of the Russian Federation,
22 February 1979**

Dear comrades!

It is for the third time that you have nominated me for election to the supreme body of government of this country—the USSR Supreme Soviet. Allow me to express my heartfelt thanks and deep gratitude to you and the entire constituency of the Stupino district for the profound trust bestowed upon me.

I realize that your trust in me is primarily an expression of your confidence in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, your approval and support for its policy motivated by the vital interests of the Soviet people and designed to secure for them a life of peace and prosperity.

The trust of the electorate implies high commitments on the part of the deputy. I have worked to the best of my ability to cope with my duties as an elected representative of the people. This refers to the area of work I am responsible for. This also refers to my participation in the activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Finally, this refers to the fulfilment of your mandate. I understand that not everything has been done as we would like it to be done, that not all problems have been resolved. Your mandate, however, is being fulfilled on the whole. It is your right to give an assessment of my work as your deputy.

The elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the current election

campaign are a great and important political event in the life of this country. In accordance with tradition, the election campaign is accompanied by a nationwide discussion of the results of the efforts we have made, a serious debate on the pressing tasks in economic and cultural development. This is socialist democracy in action, which implies practical participation of each and all in the discussion and management of the affairs of state, production and society.

Soviet democracy, the entire Soviet social and state system, take their origin from the Great October Socialist Revolution. It is for over six decades that the Soviet people led by the Party has been steadily advancing along the path opened by that revolution.

"To follow the path of the October Revolution", Leonid Brezhnev has said, "means to strengthen the economy of this country, to enhance the productivity of labour, to advance the living standards and culture of the people.

"To follow the path of the October Revolution means to develop socialist democracy, to strengthen the friendship of Soviet nations, to educate the people persistently in the spirit of the lofty principles of communism, to cherish the unity of the Party and the people as the apple of one's eye."¹

Discussing the burning problems of today we go back in thought to our sources and realize with crystal clarity that our achievements, all our life are a continuation of the ideas of the October Revolution, a development of the enormous revolutionary potential it called into being, which lives on in the decisions of the Party, in all our constructive activities.

Reviewing the path we have traversed since the October Revolution we realize again the correctness of the simple but brilliant idea of Lenin's that socialism is created by the masses. "All that we have achieved", Lenin said, "shows that we rely on the most miraculous power in the world—the power of the workers and peasants."² Indeed, all that we have achieved, all that we possess and can be proud of, has been created by the working people of the Soviet Union. It is precisely the Soviet working people and their ideological

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and articles*, vol. 2, p. 145.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 44, p. 234.

and political vanguard—the Communist Party—that have always been and remain the motive force of social transformations, the force which has assumed government of society and state. This is the deep-rooted unshakeable foundation of socialist democracy, which makes the working man the central figure in the entire political and social system of socialism.

The current elections are to take place at a significant time. Taking a look at what matters most to the Soviet people today it can be safely said that the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress in the field of home and foreign policy are being successfully translated into reality. We have entered the fourth year of the five-year plan, that is we have reached the frontiers of progress which will determine the results of the fulfilment of the plan as a whole.

Much of what was planned has already been done. The economy has been advanced to a higher level of development by the selfless efforts of the Soviet people. Hundreds of large modern industrial projects have been built and commissioned. Among them are such giants as the KAMAZ motorworks and the “Atomnash” nuclear engineering complex, the Armenian, Leningrad and Chernobylskaya atomic power plants, the Ust-Ilim and Toktogul hydropower stations, the Orenburg gas complex, the Lebedinsky ore-dressing complex, to mention but a few.

At the time of the last elections the BAM railway project had just got off the ground, and today more than 1500 kilometres of steel tracks have been laid. As the Party indicated, the construction of this line will solve not only transportation problems but will also inspire a new life into a vast undeveloped area with a variety of natural resources.

In the Seventh Five-year plan period 1 per cent of the increment in industrial output was equivalent in monetary terms to 1600 million roubles, whereas today its real value has grown to 5000 million roubles. This truly gigantic figure has behind it the tense, inspired work of those who design new factories and plants, those who build them, those who man machine-tools and those who make them ever more efficient, those who organize production and those who directly produce material values. This figures expresses the great scope of our plans and decisions, which embody the will and experience of the

masses and in which every working man and woman clearly sees a reflection of their interests and aspirations, the result of their participation in the management of production and all public affairs.

Agriculture is also making steady headway. As you know, a record grain harvest was gathered last year. The annual average grain production in the last three years was 36.6 million tons larger than in the previous five-year plan period. There has been a growth in production of cotton, sugar beets, vegetables, and livestock farm products. This success is the direct result of the efforts made by the working people in town and country to reinforce the material and technological facilities of agriculture. It is also graphic evidence of the correctness of the Party's agrarian policy reaffirmed by the July 1978 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

As your deputy I am very pleased to know that the working people of the Stupino, Kashira, Serebryano-Prudsky and Domodedovo districts are contributing effectively to the common labour efforts of the Soviet people. You have quite a few remarkable masters of their trade, who smelt metal and produce electric power, fly aircraft and build machines, grow grain and vegetable crops, obtain large increments in meat and milk production. It is necessary to have more and more such front-ranking workers. It is necessary to work without lags on the part of certain individuals to prevent concealment of facts of negligence and mismanagement with good overall performance. This is a dictate of the times and a demand of the Party.

In short, never before has this country been in possession of such an enormous economic, scientific and cultural potential, such broad possibilities for advancement. It is necessary to take advantage of them in a rational way, with utmost efficiency. Hence the key task set in the Tenth Five-Year Plan: to raise the efficiency and quality of all our work.

How is this task being implemented? It is being attacked by every working man and woman, every labour collective, who persistently mobilize latent reserves, more strictly observe production discipline and the regime of economy, work with great energy and initiative. Growing demands are made on the standards of management of the national economy. The CPSU Central Committee is demanding improvement of all planning work, more active and skilful use of

economic incentives so as to link together more closely the interests of society, labour collectives, and each of their members.

The Party has always regarded and regards economic development as the only possible way of supplying the growing material and cultural needs of the people. As Lenin taught us, the ultimate goal of socialism is to secure "complete well-being and free all-round development of all members of society".¹ Our Party is unswervingly following this line.

The assignments for increasing the incomes of the population set for the first three years of the five-year plan have been fulfilled. Over the years since the last elections the wages and salaries of factory and office workers and remuneration for the work of collective farmers have been increased. Over the same period the housing conditions of 54 million persons have been improved. This figure is comparable to the population of a large country.

Citing these facts I wish to emphasize that the growth of the people's well-being is directly dependent on the quality of our work, the labour efforts of each and all. We live well, if we work well. And if we want to live better, we must work still better, we must stimulate those who lag behind to catch up, and we must be intolerant of shortcomings.

Praising our successes, therefore, the Party at the same time discusses the existing difficulties in a frank and straightforward manner, and indicates the concrete ways and means of overcoming them. Such a high-principled discussion took place at the November 1978 plenary meeting of the Party's Central Committee. As you know, it placed strong emphasis on the need to put an end to dispersion of capital investments, to the growth of uncompleted construction projects, to breaches of planning discipline, to losses in agriculture.

"The Soviet people can understand difficulties caused by bad weather", Leonid Brezhnev said at the plenary meeting, "but they cannot and will not accept facts of mismanagement, irresponsibility and negligence as a justification for the existing difficulties. This is why we have full reason to say today that the problem of losses of

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 6, p. 232.

grain, vegetables, fruit, and cotton has not only economic implications. It also has important political implications. . . ."¹

This statement, which is pervaded with concern for the needs of the Soviet people, must become a guide to action for all Party, local government and economic bodies.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government constantly keep in the focus of attention everything that is related to the people's conditions of life and to meeting their demands.

Of course, each of such problems must be approached realistically. We are building an enormous amount of housing. Nevertheless, a housing shortage is still to be felt. It would be unreasonable to promise to meet all needs and requests immediately. However, we are consistently and stubbornly advancing and will advance towards this goal.

Keen attention is paid to measures called upon to put an end to shortfalls in supplies of some kinds of foodstuffs, especially meat, to the population. The Party has drawn up a programme for resolving this programme. Its successful implementation will make it possible to improve the supply of the population substantially. The same is true of the continued development of industrial consumer goods production. In short, whatever is necessary and possible is being done to further improve the life of the people.

I wish to emphasize that there is only one way to resolve all these problems: a general increase in the efficiency of social production. In other words, it is necessary to produce as many high-quality goods as possible and to utilize what has been produced as best we can, in the most rational way. This is truly a task for the whole people. The better and the more effectively all of us will work, the sooner this task will be accomplished.

Soviet people rightly say that the new Constitution of the USSR is a crucially important political and legal document which reflects our achievements and the prospects of communist construction in this country. Not much time has elapsed since the adoption of the Constitution. However, it is already clearly obvious that it is exerting

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches, messages, articles, reminiscences*, vol. 7, p. 533.

a highly favourable influence on all aspects of social life and has become an organic part of the current practice of communist construction. The whole Soviet people took part in formulating the fundamental law of their state. And now that the Constitution has come into force the Soviet people are actively translating its provisions into reality.

Further development and perfection of socialist democracy is one of the main directions of the activities of the Party and state. This has been laid down in the resolutions of the 24th and 25th Party Congresses and is recorded in the Constitution. There has been a corresponding growth in the role and significance of the Soviets, which Lenin described as a "form of democracy which has no match in any other country".¹ Public organizations and labour collectives are ever more actively involved in the management of all affairs of state.

The constitutional rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens have become wider and more effective. Simultaneously the guarantees of these rights and freedoms and the democratic principles of relations between the individual and the state have been reinforced.

Exercising their rights Soviet citizens perform their duties as well. The more profound the awareness of all Soviet citizens of the inter-relationship between their rights and duties and the more responsible their approach to the fulfilment of their civic duties, the more meaningful and effective is socialist government of the people which was established by the October Revolution and which has absorbed the experience of mass political creativity of over sixty years.

The socialist way of life and socialist morals have taken a firm root in this country. This is not to say, however, that we have created an ideal world inhabited by ideal people. Unfortunately, we still encounter such phenomena alien to socialism as deliberate breaches of labour discipline, drunkenness, hooliganism, bribery, embezzlement of socialist property and other anti-social acts interfering with the normal life and work of Soviet citizens.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state are doing much to eradicate crime and to prevent offences against the law. The struggle against criminal offences and anti-social behaviour, however, is a task

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 35, p. 238.

not only for government agencies but for the whole society, a civic duty of all honest Soviet citizens, all labour collectives. The more actively this duty is performed, the earlier we shall uproot this evil.

You know what area of work I have been put in charge of by the Party and the government. Allow me to say in this context a few words about the state security agencies.

The main prerequisite for a correct political line in all activities of the state security service, for success in their work, is daily guidance by the Communist Party. Speaking at the 25th CPSU Congress, Leonid Brezhnev said: "The state security agencies carry on all their work, which takes place under the Party's guidance and unflagging control, in the light of the interests of the people and the state, with the support of broad masses of working people, and with strict observance of constitutional rules and socialist legality. That is the main source of their strength, and the main earnest of the successful exercise of their functions."¹

The central task of the state security service is to neutralize the subversive operations of reactionary imperialist forces against this country. Agents of Western intelligence services, emissaries of foreign anti-Soviet organizations are attempting to ferret out our secrets, take part in organizing acts of ideological subversion, seek to "brainwash" and corrupt some unstable, weak-willed individuals. Therefore, as the CPSU Central Committee indicates, constant vigilance on the part of all Soviet citizens remains an important and pressing demand of the day.

Inside the Soviet Union there is no social basis for anti-Soviet activity. Nevertheless it would be wrong to ignore still existing facts of criminal offences against the state, anti-Soviet acts and misdemeanours committed under the influence of hostile forces from abroad.

There are also renegades of various kinds who maliciously slander Soviet reality and sometimes directly collaborate with imperialist secret services. Some figures in the West call the activities of such renegades "defence of human rights". The Soviet people, however, have never granted and will never grant anybody a right to harm

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and articles*, vol. 5, p. 543.

socialism, for the triumph of which they have laid down so many lives and exerted so much effort. To safeguard society against such criminal activities is both fair and democratic. This fully accords with the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens, the interests of society and state.

Needless to say, this does not meet the interests of the enemies of socialism. One can occasionally hear in the West hypocritical lamentations over the alleged infringements of democracy in this country and cries that the KGB is making life impossible for some "human rights champions". In fact they are worried not so much by the fact that Soviet state security agencies, acting in strict compliance with Soviet laws, stop the criminal activities of these renegades as by the latter's resolute denunciation on the part of the whole Soviet people. This is why sad voices about the hopelessness of their activities in the USSR are heard more and more often in the West.

Soviet society is monolithic and united. The Soviet people, who are dedicated to the lofty ideals of the October Revolution, to the communist cause, will not allow anybody to interfere in their internal affairs, to slander their achievements, to harm Soviet society.

A special chapter in the new Constitution of the USSR legislatively formulates the Leninist principles of Soviet peace policy. These principles came into being in the unforgettable days of the October Revolution. We take pride in the fact that the October Revolution, the Communist Party, the Soviet State, as Lenin wrote, "raised aloft the banner of peace, the banner of socialism before the whole world".¹ Our Party has been loyal to this banner for over sixty years.

The Party's foreign policy programme expresses the vital interests of the Soviet people, who know what war brings in its wake only too well and therefore are wholly dedicated to peace. The noble and humane aim of Soviet foreign policy is to preserve peace, to prevent another war from being unleashed.

We come out in defence of peace jointly with our allies, other socialist countries, all progressive forces of mankind. Our policy of peace is opposed by a policy aimed at frustrating *détente* and counter-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 37, p. 54.

ing the principles of peaceful coexistence. The danger of this policy should not be underestimated.

Under present conditions we are obliged to attach high priority to consolidating the might and defence capability of the Soviet Union. As long as the forces which threaten the peaceful work of the Soviet people and our allies are actively operating, strong and dependable defence is vitally necessary. Our defence might holds in check the most aggressive reactionary circles, compels imperialism to recognize parity in the military field, and has a sobering effect on those who have not yet abandoned for good their attempts to stop the progress of socialism by force of arms.

At the same time, our Party proceeds from the premise that peace and international security cannot be strengthened by military rivalry. The arms race undermines trust between states, poisons the international atmosphere, increases the risk of crisis situations growing into military conflicts. This is why the CPSU and the Soviet state attach paramount significance to a limitation of arms, followed by their reduction, to a peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts, to promoting *détente*, to developing mutually beneficial international co-operation. We are firmly convinced that there is no sensible alternative to this policy.

The struggle for the triumph of peace policy is not a simple matter. *Détente* has quite a few enemies, who have become appreciably more active of late. Scaring the public with the imaginary "Soviet menace" they are stepping up the arms race. Interfering in the internal affairs of foreign nations, they aggravate the general international climate. They are trying to depict *détente* as a kind of an agreement on freezing and conservation of outdated social relations and reactionary political regimes. If peoples break such relations and topple such regimes, they raise a hue and cry about the notorious "hand of Moscow", about KGB agents who allegedly organize social upheavals all over the world.

We shall not search now for those who stand behind such allegations. In some cases they are deliberate lies. In others they are the result of naivety or delusions. No, it is not "the hand of Moscow" but the bony hand of hunger, not "the intrigues of communists" but privations, oppression and suffering, that compel people to take up

arms, drive them into the streets, and make radical changes inevitable. This has happened in Angola, Afghanistan and Kampuchea. This is now taking place in Iran. Nothing, absolutely nothing can stop the irresistible forces of history which eventually work their way contrary to Pinochets, Pol Pots, Smiths and the like, contrary to the attempts of reactionary forces to retard social progress.

It would be extremely unreasonable and dangerous to jeopardize *détente* and the cause of peace each time internal political changes occur in some country, which are objectionable to politicians and ideologists of the West.

We are satisfied to acknowledge that the tendency towards a relaxation of tension which emerged in the seventies is coming out with increasing clarity as the main tendency in international affairs. This is evidenced, in particular, by the situation in Europe, by the strong shoots of new relations on the continent which sprang in the period of preparation and holding of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. It is indisputable that the restructuring of relations between European states could proceed more quickly, could produce a greater political and economic effect, if it were not held back by the attempts of aggressive circles in the West to bury *détente*, to whip up the arms race, to return the world to the times of the Cold War.

However, the attempts to arrest positive changes, to resume the Cold War have failed. And we hope that the spirit of realism, a sober attitude to the pressing problems of Europe will be preserved in European capitals. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it will struggle with even greater persistence jointly with other socialist countries for converting Europe into a continent of peace and co-operation among nations based on equality.

You know that in the last few years relations between the Soviet Union and the United States have been developing very irregularly. Vacillations and zigzags in Washington's policy have more than once resulted in declines and exacerbations and interfered with progress in matters of prime significance. Since the autumn of last year certain changes for the better seem to have appeared in this field. Progress in preparing a new agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms has been stepped up.

The Soviet government attaches great significance to improving Soviet-American relations as one of the key directions of its policy aimed at preventing nuclear war and achieving a general normalization of the international situation. Therefore, we are doing whatever is possible and necessary to resolve the major issues which have a bearing on the development of relations between the USSR and the USA.

Among the factors aggravating the international situation is China's armed attack on Vietnam. Imperialist politicians hope to use China as a tool for opposition to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This calculation, however, may easily turn into miscalculation.

As you see, there are quite a few complicated problems and situations in the world today. However, the complexity and at times the contradictory character of events in the world arena do not change our approach to foreign policy. The Soviet people can see ever more clearly the correctness of the policy pursued by our Party, the importance of a further consistent and determined struggle for a relaxation of international tensions, for a limitation of arms, for disarmament and the development of international co-operation.

All successes and accomplishments of the Soviet people are inseparably linked with the activities of the Leninist Party. The record of experience proves conclusively that as the scope of the Soviet Union's socioeconomic and cultural development grows, as ever new tasks in communist construction are accomplished, the Communist Party—the guiding and mobilizing force of Soviet society—has a growing part to play.

In all its theoretical and practical work the Party is invariably guided by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Lenin's ideas are alive today, and they will live on in the centuries to come, because they authentically reflect the objective course of history, the laws of social development and the class interests of the masses. Fidelity to Leninism, the creative development of Lenin's heritage is the dependable guarantee of new majestic accomplishments, of the triumph of communism.

The quiet and businesslike political atmosphere pervaded with communist high-principledness which has formed in the Party and

country is of enormous significance for the fulfilment of all our plans. This atmosphere is the result of the purposeful activities of the Central Committee, its Politbureau and the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev. Many good and warm words have been said about him at today's meeting. These words are an expression of the truly nationwide recognition of his wisdom as a statesman, his political foresight and his great humaneness. The communists, all working people of this country, rightly regard Leonid Brezhnev as a political leader of the Leninist stamp, who is inseparably linked with the people, who has devoted all his life to the people, and who is doing his utmost to advance the well-being of the people and to guarantee the security of our motherland.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is contesting the elections with a comprehensive programme of economic and cultural development, of raising the living standards of the people. It is set out in the message of the Central Committee to the electorate. The aim of this programme is to make this socialist country still more beautiful and stronger, to make the life of the Soviet people still better and fuller, to make peace on earth still stronger and more dependable. The Soviet people are well aware of that. They give their unreserved support to the Party and respond to its appeals with practical deeds. This is the most dependable guarantee that all our plans will be fulfilled, that this country will score new successes in its great onward march towards communism.

Allow me to express once again my heartfelt gratitude to the labour collectives which have nominated me for election to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the electoral agents and all comrades who have spoken at this meeting. I promise to do my best to live up to your honourable trust.

I wish you a happy life and new successes in your work for the benefit of our Soviet Motherland.

Leninism: the Mainspring of the Revolutionary Energy and Creativity of the Masses

**Report at a ceremonial meeting in
Moscow commemorating the 112th
anniversary of Lenin's birth,
22 April 1982**

Comrades!

The great Lenin, a revolutionary and thinker, his ideas and his work brought about a decisive change in mankind's destiny. The October Revolution of 1917, which was led by Lenin, burst, as it were, the uniform fabric of historical time. At one pole there has emerged and is making rapid progress a world of liberated labour oriented on the future. At the other pole there has survived a world of exploitation and coercion rooted in the past. The coexistence and confrontation of these two worlds is the most fundamental and deep-seated phenomenon in the social and political development of human society in the twentieth century.

The dynamics of this change have radically altered the social image of our planet. Our Motherland—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—has grown into an impregnable fortress of socialism. The socialist community of nations is developing and growing stronger. The once powerful colonial empires have sunk into oblivion. In place of them there have emerged liberated states many of which are socialist-oriented. The situation in the main citadels of capitalism remains unstable economically, socially, and politically. The reforms by which the *bourgeoisie* retreating under pressure from the working-class and communist movement attempted to stabilize the situation have failed to produce the expected effect. The ideas of socialism and

freedom have struck a deep root on all continents and are supported by powerful mass movements.

All these changes bringing nearer the triumph of a new, communist civilization are inseparably associated with the name, work, and ideological legacy of Lenin. Leninism has been, is and will be the irresistible weapon of the world proletariat, all those who are struggling against the old world and building a new world.

Lenin's teaching, like Marxism-Leninism as a whole, is a science. And just like any science it is intolerant of dogma. Leninism is the theory of revolutionary renovation of the world. Relying on a system of fundamental principles repeatedly tested in practice, on materialistic dialectics, this teaching lives on and develops, reflecting all new processes and phenomena, new turns of history.

The secret of the eternal youth of Leninism lies in the fact that Lenin's teaching, its principles and ideals are close and understandable to the multimillion masses, that every new generation of people find in it clear answers to problems exciting them. It illuminates mankind's path into the future, brings peace and progress to the nations of the world.

In this lies the inexhaustible vitality of Leninism. In this lies the strength of our Party, which preserves and constantly enriches Lenin's priceless heritage.

Commemorating the 112th anniversary of Lenin's birth we pay a tribute of gratitude and respect to the founder of our Party and state. On this day we again and again collate our plans and our policy with Lenin's guidelines. And we have full reason to say that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is loyal to Lenin's great cause, to Marxism-Leninism. The Soviet people closely rallied around the Party and its Central Committee headed by the outstanding Leninist Leonid Brezhnev are confidently advancing along the path of communist construction.

LIVING, CREATIVE SOCIALISM IS THE WORK OF THE MASSES THEMSELVES (V. I. LENIN)

Lenin pointed out in his time that with every new step of history, with every large change in the sociopolitical situation and practical

tasks, different aspects of Marxism as a living theory come to the foreground. This fully applies to Leninism as well. Today we devote close attention to Lenin's ideas of the people's decisive role in revolutionary remaking of the world, his idea of socialism as the result of conscious creativity of the masses.

Inseparable ties with the masses were Lenin's inherent quality. "Wherever Lenin might be brought by fate, wherever he might be and whatever he might be doing, he was linked with the people by thousands of threads. Meetings and discussions with workers and peasants, soldiers, scientists and cultural figures were an organic necessity for him. That was a political leader's need to compare his conclusions with the experience of the masses, to verify his broad generalizations by what seemed particular cases, by the personal destinies of those who make revolution and build socialism", Leonid Brezhnev has said.

Enormous attention to the experience of the masses, faith in their inexhaustible creative potential, an ability to translate their aspirations and interests into clear political slogans and programmes of action run through all the history of Leninism.

Let us go back in thought to the legendary time when soviet government was taking its first steps under Lenin's guidance. To say that it was a hard time is to say very little. By conventional criteria, from the standpoint of "common sense", the tasks Lenin and his followers had set themselves seemed absolutely impossible. Nevertheless, they had won total victory.

That victory was often called a "miracle" at the time. That was not true, of course. And Lenin with his sober, realistic cast of mind realized that better than anybody. Russia had had a corrupt and decrepit feudal-capitalistic system of government weakened by war. The world was torn apart by bitter antagonisms which interfered with the consolidation of the foreign enemies of the Soviet Republic. The Bolshevik Party founded by Lenin was a close-knit political vanguard of Russia's proletariat steeled in class battles. That vanguard was linked by unbreakable ties with the working class and the peasantry and enjoyed full support from the masses. Russia's working people had placed their faith in the Party and Lenin and risen in revolt. The revolution had triumphed.

Thus at the very beginning of the socialist era there formed the unity of the Party and people, which became a powerful constructive force of the new society. This unity has an objective nature, since the aims, the programme of the Leninist Party authentically express the working people's interests. At the same time, this unity is the result of the deliberate, purposeful efforts of the communists, who are convinced that only the people themselves can create a truly democratic social system.

Lenin repeatedly emphasized this idea. "Socialism", he said, "cannot be decreed from on high. Its spirit is alien to formal-bureaucratic automatism; living, creative socialism is the work of the masses themselves." This is why our Party regards it as a matter of first priority to display constant concern for enhancing the political awareness and culture of the working people. The better we cope with this task, the more rapid and fuller the mainstream of the historical creativity of the masses.

All the development of Soviet society, its past and present, eloquently demonstrate what wonders the working man's unchained initiative can work. It has concentrated centuries of progress in a few decades. The results of this progress are visible to the whole world today. This is our Soviet government by the people and for the people. This is our socialist economy built by free labour and serving the welfare of each and all. This is the great unity of all nations and national minorities in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, whose 60th anniversary we are preparing to celebrate. This is the triumph of socialist ideology in our society.

The main sphere of the Soviet people's activities is the economy. This is why it is precisely in this sphere that the conscious creativity of the masses, their initiative and resourcefulness, their desire and ability to work conscientiously are so important. Indeed, the performance of all our plans and programmes expressed on the scale of a concrete production collective and working place immediately reveals its dependence on the responsibility, activity and occupational skills of every working man and woman.

Our standards of life today and tomorrow are determined, in the final analysis, by the degree of efficiency of the Tyumen oil-field workers, the tunnel builders and track-layers employed on the BAM

railway project, the builders of the powerful hearts of atomic power plants at the "Atommash" nuclear power engineering complex, the farmers who are now carefully placing in spring soil seeds of wheat and cotton to raise this year's harvest, the teachers of our children and the doctors who care for our health. Soviet citizens work in a variety of areas and under different, at times quite arduous, conditions. All of them, however, have one thing in common: their dedication to the common cause of constructive work.

The nationwide effort to implement the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the assignments of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, the widespread socialist emulation drive for improving work efficiency and product quality, for making the economy truly economical—these are concrete, visible evidence that the tasks of the Party are a matter of vital concern to all Soviet citizens.

Time has already counted off a quarter of the current five-year plan. This is a fairly long period. Much has already been done. Growth of industrial output has been secured. Labour efficiency has risen. As the Congress resolved, consumer goods production has been increasing at a faster rate. The social measures planned have been implemented consistently.

As masters of their land the Soviet people have an exacting attitude to all areas of work, aware that they can solve the existing problems, relying on their own resources. This refers primarily to overcoming the lag of agriculture, expanding production and improving the quality of foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods, and developing the consumer services. These tasks are being tackled and will certainly be fulfilled.

Needless to say, the historical creativity of the masses is not confined to the economy alone. It manifests itself in all fields of social life. This graphically illustrates the most fundamental property of our system: its inherent democracy. Soviet citizens learn from their own experience about the organic relationship between success in socialist construction and development of democracy. It is quite logical that developed socialist society has become a society of constantly developing democracy.

Our revolution, Lenin said, has drawn millions upon millions of people through Soviet government into active participation in the

development of the state. The Soviets are a form of political organization which has opened up unsurpassed opportunities for collecting, accumulating, and turning to common advantage the creativity and initiative of the masses, for analyzing a wide range of opinions and suggestions in solving any problem. This is a guarantee of adopting such decisions that meet precisely and completely the interests of all classes and social groups, nations and national minorities, all generations of Soviet society.

As is known, the question of participation of the masses in the management of the affairs of state, the principles of socialist democracy, are the subject of acute ideological and political controversy in the world arena. Of late, for instance, the thesis of "pluralism" as an inalienable attribute of democracy has been intensively circulated. But how is one to understand this thesis?

Speaking of the existence in society of different, divergent viewpoints and interests, there is no society without such phenomena. This is equally true of capitalism and socialism. There is one essential distinction however. Under capitalism the difference of interests assumes the character of a class antagonism. On the political plane this antagonism finds expression in the existence of different parties with opposite class orientations. The existence of and struggle between such parties is, indeed, an attribute of democracy but this is formal, bourgeois democracy which by no means guarantees genuine freedom for the labouring masses.

Since in socialist society there is no private ownership of means of production, no exploiter classes, the discrepancy between the interests of different social groups does not reach the degree of antagonism. In the new society there is no soil for the formation of political parties hostile to socialism. As far as consideration, comparison and harmonizing of different interests are concerned, different mechanisms can work here, depending on historical traditions and concrete circumstances.

In the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries with one-party political systems, consideration of the interests of different social groups and harmonizing them with the common interests of the whole people are effected within the framework of one party, through bodies of government elected by the whole people, through

the trade unions and the entire widely ramified system of public organizations. In those socialist countries where a few parties exist each of them has its own social support with its own specific interests. It is a matter of fundamental importance, however, that all of them adhere to socialist positions.

This is precisely what disgruntles the Western champions of "pluralism". They desire an organized opposition to socialism to be established, if only artificially, in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is clear that this desire is entertained by enemies of our system. The Soviet people, however, will never agree to that, and they are capable of guarding themselves against all kinds of renegades and against their foreign patrons. In short, we communists are for developing democracy in the interest of socialism, not to the detriment of socialism.

We can see socialist democracy in action every day in the ever wider involvement of the masses in the management of the affairs of society and state, in the harmony between the fundamental interests of society and the individual, in the sensitive, objective and attentive consideration of Soviet citizens' aspirations and interests which are basically identical but highly individual at the same time. The Party's demand for attention to be given to every individual is an expression of its concern for human individuality so that it may not be obliterated and the voice and opinion of each may be heard and heeded.

The labour efforts, social and political activity of the masses, the attention to the needs, requests and opinions of Soviet citizens largely determine the moral and political atmosphere in any collective and in society in general. It is also determined, of course, by how the Party, government and economic bodies work at all levels without exception. As is known, at one time there were problems, not simple ones, associated with a departure from the Leninist norms here. Our Party under the guidance of its Central Committee has overcome the negative consequences of that. We have done this work and learned the necessary lessons from the difficult record of historical experience.

The political situation which has now taken shape in Soviet society, the entire atmosphere of the life and work of Soviet citizens are healthful in keeping with the norms and principles of developed

socialism. This does not mean, however, that we have no shortcomings and problems, phenomena that must be fought consistently and resolutely.

Soviet citizens are justly indignant at facts of embezzlement, bribery, red tape, a disrespectful attitude to people and other antisocial acts. It does not matter much whether they have been inherited from the past or brought from abroad and spongeing on certain shortcomings in our development. Once these phenomena exist, they are a hindrance to us, and it is the duty of every communist, every citizen, to fight them. The Soviet people fully support measures taken by the Party to uproot these phenomena.

It is not easy to go along an untrodden path. Much here is impossible to predict or anticipate. As the Party is teaching us, to be able to go forward confidently it is important to combine courage and flexibility in solving objectively pressing problems with a precise, strictly scientific assessment of the existing record of achievement, without underestimating or exaggerating our resources and possibilities.

"We Marxists", Lenin said, "must strain for all we are worth to study scientifically the facts making the basis for our policy."

It is precisely this approach that enables our Party and people to implement the tasks facing Soviet society in the last two decades of the 20th century. Viewed as a whole, these tasks boil down to what may be called perfection of developed socialism. The Soviet Union is at the beginning of this long historical stage, which will in turn have its own periods and phases of growth. It need not be proved that progress from phase to phase is a complex process inevitably involving efforts to overcome contractions and difficulties, which are a matter of course in any development. Some efforts will be more successful than others. In some areas we shall be able to make faster progress than in others. Such is the real course of social progress. It cannot be straightened out with a ruler.

At its 26th Congress the CPSU outlined a comprehensive programme of the country's economic and social development at the present stage. The efforts of the Party and people are concentrated on implementing the Congress decisions, on translating them into concrete actions. This is the pivot of all our work, to use Lenin's

phrase. Success in this work is inseparably linked with the ever more intensive expression of the intellectual and moral powers of the working people, the finest qualities of our people, the growth of the lively interest of the masses in the affairs and concerns of their Motherland, their creativity and initiative.

All this once again became manifest in their enthusiastic work at the Leninist communist Subbotnik. Over 155 million people, that is, practically all who could afford it took part in Subbotnik. Each of them sensed again the greatness of Lenin's idea of free labour which makes the working man genuine master of his country.

This feeling of active involvement in shaping one's own life and society is the mainspring of the great energy which no other system but socialism possesses or can possess. By developing consistently and skilfully directing this energy we will accomplish any tasks and lend still greater momentum to the great cause of communist construction. This is a cause, as Lenin put it, which "attracts all of us, which all of us desire, which we must advance, and to which we will devote all our efforts and all our lives".

The active involvement of the masses in the conscious making of history is a striking feature of the present epoch.

Within a brief historical period the socialist community of nations has grown into a global factor of modern political development. The combining of the ideological, political, economic, scientific and technological potentials of the fraternal nations augments the power of socialism in being, allows it to develop dynamically, to counter effectively the aggressive policy of imperialism and hegemonism, and to influence actively the course of world developments.

Socialism, however, is not built under laboratory conditions. It forms in a situation of class confrontation between the two systems, of hard pressure from imperialism, and in the process of overcoming its internal difficulties. All this affects the rates of our progress. However, this socialism, though not an ideal one but really existing on earth, proves ever more conclusively that the future belongs to socialism.

The socialist world is a constantly renovated creation of many nations. It is expressed in a variety of ways of revolution, methods

and rates of socioeconomic transformations, ways of implementing pressing tasks in various spheres of social life, a diversity of forms of the political and social organization of society.

Socialism is alien by nature to visionary schemes and stereotypes. Every Communist party in power contributes to the cause of socialist construction, proceeding from the realities of the situation prevailing, national distinctions and traditions.

The variety of forms of socialism is predetermined by real life but its essence is invariable. The socialist system in any country is brought into being by implementing the fundamental principles of communism correctly modified, as Lenin taught us, in details to adapt them to national and national state distinctions.

In this context I will touch on the question of "models" of socialism so much in vogue today. It has been argued that the difficulties encountered by some socialist countries stem from the alleged imposition of the Soviet "model" upon them. It is a strange conclusion. Suffice it to take an unbiased look at reality to understand the complete absurdity of such allegations. In every socialist state one can see vivid manifestations of original national, historical, cultural and other distinctions.

That socialist construction in any country must correspond to its historical, political and cultural traditions is indisputable. The subject for a debate appears when talk about various "models" leads to an increasingly vague and nebulous idea of the very essence of socialism, its cardinal distinctions from capitalism. And, of course, strong objections are voiced to efforts to denigrate the experience of the peoples which have taken the socialist path, to what is in fact a rejection of the general laws of socialist construction.

The CPSU has repeatedly stated its stand on this issue. We believe that the best form for each country is the one which has been adopted by its people and agrees with their interests and traditions. However, the fundamental principles of the socialist social system, its class nature and its essence are the same for all countries and peoples.

The worldwide growth of interest in socialism is a significant feature of the times. The ideas of socialism are gaining ground in developed capitalist countries. They are also forcing their way in countries which have freed themselves from colonial oppression. This

is the logical result of what is at times a spontaneous involvement of the masses in the anti-imperialist struggle, in efforts to overcome backwardness, poverty, and dependence. The variety of conditions in which the struggle for social progress is waged, the diverse composition and nature of the political forces waging this struggle give rise to a wide spectrum of different ideological trends and views.

We communists are convinced that the practice of the class struggle and social transformations, the general advancement of material and spiritual culture, the experience and influence of the nations of the socialist community will set the stage for ever wider propagation of the ideas of scientific communism.

Different ways lead to socialism. However, once this path is taken it is important not to stray and to arrive precisely at socialism rather than stop half-way or remain within the capitalist system. To achieve their goal the working people need their own political party. This should not be an ordinary party but a party of the fundamentally new, Leninist type.

Only a party of this type is in a position to translate the interests and aspirations of the masses into the language of conscious political struggle, to infuse the masses with its faith and determination, to mobilize their energy and direct it into the mainstream of struggle. Such a party alone can achieve a recognition of its vanguard role by the masses and lead them to socialism through any trials, however severe.

THE BEST EXPRESSION OF DEMOCRACY IS ITS STAND ON THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE OF WAR AND PEACE (V. I. LENIN)

The problems of world politics, particularly the problems of war and peace, occupy an exceptionally important place in the theory and practice of Leninism. Lenin clearly realized that the destiny of Russian revolution, the entire liberation struggle of the peoples largely depended on a correct solution to these problems.

It was Lenin who laid down the fundamental principles of foreign policy to be pursued by the proletariat in power. The founder of our Party invariably made a distinction between just and unjust wars. His

views on the problems of war and peace constitute a coherent theory. Its essence is a consistent and uncompromising affirmation of the idea of organic connection between peace and socialism. This connection stems from the fact that the new society has no need for war, since war contradicts all its interests and ideals, all aspirations of the working people. Today when the problem of war and peace has become a life and death question for whole nations, for human civilization in general, these ideas of Lenin's have assumed unprecedented urgency.

All our experience since the October Revolution proves that peace cannot be solicited from the imperialists. We remember Lenin's behest that a revolution must be capable of defending itself. Following this behest our Party and the Soviet people have formed their valiant armed forces and built up an indestructible defence capability.

At the same time the Soviet Union has never proceeded from the premise that lasting peace can be secured exclusively by military power and by a policy based upon it. Such a policy would lead not to peace but to an arms race, to confrontation and eventually to war. This is precisely why our Party and the Soviet state so consistently uphold the principles of peaceful coexistence, so steadfastly pursue their policy of peace and international cooperation.

"The best expression of democracy is its stand on the fundamental issue of war and peace", Lenin said. The profoundly democratic character of Soviet foreign policy consists exactly in expression of the fundamental vital interests of the mass of the people, who have no need for war.

An exhaustive history of our epoch will perhaps be written some time. It can be safely said that inscribed in gold letters in that history will be the indisputable fact that if it had not been for the Soviet Union's firm policy of peace our planet would not only have been a much more dangerous place for man to live in but it might well have been overtaken by a fatal disaster. If we have avoided this disaster, if we have lived in peace time for almost forty years, if we are confident of our future, this is very largely due to the Soviet Union's foreign policy in the past and today, its efforts to avert the danger of nuclear catastrophe, its struggle for life, for mankind's survival and prosperity.

The Soviet people, all progressive forces on earth highly appreciate Leonid Brezhnev's multifarious activities for the benefit of peace. His indefatigable work and selfless efforts devoted to this noble cause have won the General Secretary of our Party's Central Committee broad recognition and gratitude of all the people. Every great cause gives birth to its own heroes and champions. In our day such a great cause is the struggle for peace. Leonid Brezhnev, who himself fought in the war as long as it lasted and went through the hardships of postwar recovery, is waging this struggle with determination, wisdom and consistency, sparing no efforts to preserve peace.

Pursuing its fundamentally new, Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, the young socialist state was also to search for new ways of implementing this policy. The advent of new, socialist diplomacy was called upon, in Lenin's conception, to demolish the wall by which the exploiter classes had always barred the labouring masses from foreign policy, to convert the masses from an object of foreign policy into a force actively influencing international affairs in their own interest.

The very advent of socialist foreign policy helped bring vital international problems out of the quiet of imperial offices into the streets despised by the *bourgeoisie* and made them accessible to the workers and all working people. That was a fundamental class-oriented change in accordance with the Party principles. It enabled the masses for the first time to influence policy actively, helped the antiwar movements to win broad public support.

In our epoch when mankind is exposed to the most terrible danger—the danger of nuclear war—such movements have become a serious political factor, whose role, by all indications, will grow.

Frightened by the upsurge of antiwar movements, the imperialist *bourgeoisie* resorts on a widening scale to the weapon of lies, to refined deception. Just take a look at what Washington is doing now. One hysterical propaganda campaign is followed by another. The public is brainwashed now with fabrications about a "Soviet military menace", now with shameless lies about America's strategic "lag". It is intimidated with stories about "international terrorism" or told fables about the events in Poland, in Central America, in South and South East Asia. There is logic, albeit perverted, in this propaganda:

indeed, to advertise weapons of mass destruction and to prod the world to war the imperialists have to deceive the masses.

The Soviet people are convinced that another world war can be prevented. This requires active efforts by all peace forces, all governments, political parties and leaders who are concerned for the future of nations and of mankind as a whole. Our Party and the Soviet government are doing their best for Soviet policy to serve effectively the cause of peace, to enlighten the masses, to expose the intrigues of the apologists of the arms race and aggression. It serves these aims not only in word but also in deed, by all its peace initiatives.

This is assuming crucial importance today. In fact, faced with an unprecedented rise of the mass anti-war movement, the apologists of the Cold War are stepping up not only their propaganda efforts but also their political manoeuvres. Attempts are being made to take advantage of diplomatic talks, including talks on arms limitation and disarmament, to mislead the public. One gains the impression that consent to enter into such talks sometimes pursues the sole aim of creating illusions so as to lull the vigilance of the public and carry on the arms race.

Indeed, is it not the line pursued by the West at the Vienna talks on arms and troop reductions in Central Europe? The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have more than once attempted to lead them out of their stalemate. Each time, however, our Western partners came up with new arguments to obstruct an agreement.

It seems that US negotiators had the same scheme in mind when they came to the talks on the limitation of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. All the more so that there is a time limit here: if an agreement is delayed by another year or a year and a half, it may be possible to begin implementing in practice NATO's decision to deploy a few hundred new American missiles in Europe.

As is known, Washington has recently promised again that the United States will soon be prepared to enter into negotiations on strategic arms limitation and reduction. Well, we need not be persuaded to reciprocate. The Soviet Union has long been ready for such negotiations. We proceed from the assurance that this crucial problem can be settled, if negotiations are conducted in a constructive spirit on the basis of the principles of parity and equal security.

In a *Pravda* interview the other day concerning a possible Soviet-American summit meeting Leonid Brezhnev reaffirmed the Soviet Union's willingness to have a constructive dialogue with the United States.

The Communist Party has always been aware of the fact that the path towards lasting peace is an arduous, thorny path. One cannot expect walkovers here, and every step of progress takes great efforts. Since we realize this quite clearly, we have never been dizzy with success. And we do not lose heart, when we come up against difficulties.

Leonid Brezhnev compared the present situation to a forking road, emphasizing thereby the critical importance of the choice facing mankind. Either it will step on the road leading away from war and to peace or it will take the road of a further arms race and confrontation.

We have long made our choice. We are determined not to stray off the path of peace and co-operation charted by Lenin. For us this is a matter of vital interests of the people and country. For us this is a question of principle.

It seemed that not only the Soviet Union but also the main powers of the capitalist world had made this choice and passed this road fork in the early seventies, guided by the full record of experience in the earlier decades. This experience clearly shows that there is no sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence, that the Cold War and the arms race have no prospects, while a "shooting war" will bring victory to no one.

Some governments, just as individuals, however, are prone to forget the experience and lessons of history. This is now evident in the case with all the US administration, which is trying to push all the development of international relations to a path of danger. It is clear that the United States will achieve no success on this path. However, one cannot ignore the fact that this policy is aggravating the situation as a whole and increasing the danger of war. The only response to this policy must be greater vigilance and an even more stubborn struggle to preserve peace. It is precisely these tasks that are being implemented by Soviet foreign policy.

In response to the attempts of the aggressive imperialist forces to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union we will maintain

our defence capability at a sufficient level so as to guarantee dependably, as Leonid Brezhnev has stated, the security of this country and the entire socialist community of nations.

We counter the attempts to poison the atmosphere and step up tensions with new peace initiatives. In his speech at the 17th Congress of Trade Unions in Tashkent Leonid Brezhnev put forward a wide range of constructive proposals. These new initiatives face, in effect, every country, its government and public with the same question: which road to follow? The road of peace and *détente* or the road of fomenting tensions, the arms race and war? Nobody can evade an answer to this question.

We are not alone in our historic struggle against the danger of nuclear catastrophe. The cause of peace has on its side the socialist community of nations, the fraternal Communist parties, the international working-class movement, the peoples of the nonaligned countries. Peace is being defended by the mass of the people on all continents, in all countries, including Western Europe, Japan and the United States itself. This movement, which affiliates people of widely varied social status and convictions was called into being by the natural desire of human beings to survive, by the most pressing dictate of the times: to prevent nuclear holocaust. Only political dolts or deliberate liars can denounce the mass antiwar movement of today as the work of the "hand of Moscow", the intrigues of communists. The worldwide coalition of forces opposed to the nuclear menace today is as broad as perhaps no movement has been in human history.

The problems of peace are bound up closely and directly with defence of the working people's vital social interests. The Marxists have always regarded them as such. All Leninist communists view them in the same light today. The Soviet people highly appreciate the courageous struggle waged by the fraternal parties against war, for peace, security, and social progress. Allegiant to its internationalist duty, the CPSU has done and will do all in its power to strengthen in the course of this struggle its solidarity and co-operation with its foreign class comrades, to contribute to achieving still closer unity of the communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Soviet foreign policy, just as in Lenin's day, represents our peace-

ful interests in relation to all countries and peoples of the world. We will never swerve from this Leninist line.

* * *

Leninism has a long and splendid history. Leninism, however, has not and will never become a mere part of the historical past.

Lenin's ideas which illumine the path towards socialism and communism for the working class and all labouring masses are alive and will never die.

Lenin's deeds which ushered in the great era of practical transition to new forms of social life, to socialism are alive and will live on forever.

The Party founded by Lenin, in which his ideas and his work are immortalized, is alive and will live on. Its entire political biography and its development are under the powerful influence of Lenin's personality. Founding our Party Lenin put his whole heart and soul into it.

Raising the party of the new type and defending it in uncompromising struggle against opportunists of every stripe, Lenin pointed out that such a party alone was able "to take over power and to lead the whole people towards socialism, to guide and organize the new system, to be the teacher, guide and leader of all working and exploited people in the cause of organizing their social life without the bourgeoisie and against the *bourgeoisie*. Such was Lenin's idea of a revolutionary proletarian party. And such was the Bolshevik party he had created. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has remained faithful to Lenin's idea to this day.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the party of Lenin and the Leninists!

Long live Marxism-Leninism, the mainspring of the revolutionary energy and creativity of the masses!

Glory to the great Soviet people building communism!

**Communiqué of the meeting of the
Political Consultative Committee of
the Warsaw Treaty member states
Prague, 5 January 1983**

The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee was declared open by Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, President of Czechoslovakia.

The participants in the meeting honoured by a minute's silence the memory of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev—an outstanding political figure and statesman of our time, a consistent fighter for peace and international security, for relaxation of tensions—who made an inestimable contribution to the development of co-operation and to the strengthening of the cohesion of socialist states.

The meeting was presided over alternately by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic; Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Comrade Yuri V. Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The participants in the meeting jointly considered the situation in Europe in the light of the complex international situation that is taking shape and exchanged views on some other international matters.

In this context they discussed the most important directions of struggle at the contemporary stage for averting the danger of nuclear war, for preserving and consolidating the relaxation of international tension, for strengthening security and for developing co-operation in the European continent. Touching upon the activities of their defensive-political alliance, they positively appraised the work of the

Foreign Ministers' Committee and the Defence Ministers' Committee in the period since the previous meeting in Warsaw in May 1980, and mapped out further tasks.

They set out their conclusions and considerations in a unanimously adopted political declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member states. The declaration is to be published separately.

It was agreed that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as the host country of the meeting, shall ensure the distribution of the political declaration as an official document of the United Nations Organization and bring it to the notice of all member countries of the European Conference on Security and Co-operation. In this their attention shall be especially drawn to the new major peace proposal—to conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of armed force and the maintenance of relations of peace between member countries of the Warsaw Treaty and member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty open to accession by all other states. It was agreed that at its next meeting the Foreign Ministers' Committee of Warsaw Treaty member countries is to study the question of further steps directed at the implementation of this initiative.

Political declarations of the Warsaw Treaty member states Prague, January 1983

The highest representatives of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, who met in Prague on 4-5 January 1983 for a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, jointly reviewed the situation in Europe against the background of the emerging complex international situation and exchanged opinions on some other international issues.

Guiding themselves by an awareness of high responsibility for the preservation and strengthening of universal peace and security and for carrying on the process of the relaxation of tension, they believe it necessary to state the following.

The states represented at the present meeting drew the attention of all the countries and peoples by the Moscow (1978) and Warsaw (1980) declarations of the Political Consultative Committee to the enhanced threat to peace and to the need to counter the aggravation of the international situation. Today they point out with concern that, as a consequence of the further activation of the aggressive forces, world developments are acquiring an even more dangerous character.

The circles which would like to undermine the only sensible basis of relations between states with different social systems, peaceful co-existence, are increasingly persistent in asserting themselves. The tangible progress in improving international relations which began to influence the general development of world affairs during the 1970s has now been jeopardized. Much harm is being done to the tendency

towards the relaxation of tension, which has yielded positive results for the peoples. Co-operation is being replaced by confrontation, attempts are being made to subvert the peaceful foundations of state-to-state relations, and the development of political contacts and mutually beneficial economic and cultural relations between states is called in question.

The arms race is evolving into a qualitatively new and far more dangerous phase embracing all types of weapons, both nuclear and conventional, all types of military activity and virtually all parts of the world.

Long-term seats of tension come to life, new conflicts and crisis situations flare up. The efforts of the peace-loving states to find solutions to contentious problems, both on a world and on a regional scale, through equal talks between the parties concerned are being blocked and ever more unresolved international problems are piling up. The imperialist circles are pursuing a policy of strength, pressure, *diktat*, intervention in internal affairs and encroachment of national independence and the sovereignty of states, and seek to consolidate or recarve their spheres of influence. They try to turn to their benefit any frictions and complications arising in relations among states, any difficulties which may beset different peoples.

Obstacles are being raised in the way of the normal development of economic, scientific and technical co-operation and economic "sanctions" and embargoes are used as a tool of politics, which makes it even more difficult to resolve the existing economic problems. The imperialist circles are trying to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the peoples, including those in the developing countries. Huge military spending is becoming an ever heavier burden for the peoples, regardless of the economic development levels of different countries, and slows down economic and social progress.

At the close of the 20th century mankind has been faced acutely with global problems of a social, economic, demographic and ecological character. The present-day level of the development of the productive forces, science and technology in the world is ensuring adequate material and intellectual resources for setting about practically resolving these immense problems. However, the development of international co-operation for these purposes is hampered by

the forces of reaction, trying to perpetuate the backwardness of whole continents, to divide states and to set some of them in opposition to others.

The situation as a whole is thus becoming increasingly complex, international tension is escalating and the threat of war, primarily of nuclear war, is growing.

As a counter to this dangerous development of events, there is an increasingly persevering and firm resolve of the peoples, of all the progressive and peace-loving forces, to put an end to the policy of strength and confrontation and to ensure the preservation of peace, the strengthening of international security, the assertion in relations among states of the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, inviolability of the borders, non-intervention in internal affairs, renunciation of the use or threat of force, equality, the right of the peoples to be masters of their destinies, and other commonly recognized principles.

The states represented at the conference are therefore convinced that however complex the world situation may be, there exist possibilities for overcoming the dangerous stage of international relations. The present course of development must and can be stopped and redirected in accordance with the aspirations of the people.

It is for the sake of this that the socialist countries, whose adherence to peace is intrinsic to the very nature of their social system, are putting on the scales of peace all their international prestige and political and economic potential.

The non-aligned movement is an important factor contributing to improving the international situation. A number of other countries are also opposed to the deterioration of the international climate.

Political parties, organizations and movements of different ideological persuasions in the West and East, North and South are raising their voice against the arms race and the incitement of armed conflicts. Millions of ordinary people on all continents stage massive anti-war demonstrations to express their desire for peace.

The forces of peace are stronger than the forces of war. Everything depends on their cohesion and the purposefulness of their actions.

Relying on an analysis of the international situation, the states represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee

offer an alternative to nuclear catastrophe and call for large-scale international co-operation to preserve civilization and life on earth.

The task of curbing the arms race and going over to disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, is central to the struggle for averting war.

The American programmes for the development and production of nuclear weapons which have been approved in the recent period and which are already being carried out, and also the development of weapons based on the latest scientific achievements and discoveries, including systems and means for waging war in and from space, are called upon to multiply manifold the deadly power of the US military arsenal, including in Europe. This policy of arms build-up, pursued by the United States and some of its allies, to achieve military superiority is leading to the frustration of international stability.

The drawing up of new arms build-up programmes by them is inseparable from the escalation of the strategic concepts and doctrines, such as those of the "first disarming nuclear strike", "limited nuclear war", "protracted nuclear conflict" and others. All these aggressive doctrines, which jeopardize peace, are based on the assumption that it is possible to win a nuclear war through the first use of nuclear weapons.

The states represented at the meeting stress most forcefully that any hope to unleash a nuclear war and to win it is nonsensical. There can be no winners in a nuclear war once it breaks out. It is bound to lead to the annihilation of whole peoples, to colossal destruction and to catastrophic consequences for civilization and for life on earth as a whole.

Military policy based on such hopes insuperably entails other very dangerous consequences.

First, the development and deployment of ever new systems of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction will even further loosen the stability of the military-strategic situation, escalate international tension and complicate relations among states.

Second, fresh escalation of the arms race contravenes the aim of maintaining military-strategic parity at ever lower levels—a goal of the Warsaw Treaty member states, which are opposed to military rivalry. The implementation of the above-mentioned arms build-up

programmes will lead to higher levels of military confrontation. Peace will become less stable and more fragile.

Third, another round of the arms race will make nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction even more sophisticated. In this way the difficulties involved in drafting international agreements to limit and reduce them will grow considerably.

For this reason the states represented at the meeting believe that it is necessary to act without delay, while there is still a possibility to curb the arms race and to go over to disarmament. They proceed here from the assumption that all the states, if they care for the destinies of their peoples and mankind at large, should have an objective interest in preventing a slide to war.

It is necessary first and foremost that the states, particularly nuclear powers, should display political will and readiness for co-operation. It is necessary that their military policies should proceed exclusively from defensive purposes and reckon with the legitimate security interests of all the states. They should not make it more complex to reach agreements leading to effective reductions in the armed forces and armaments with strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security.

In this connection the participants in the meeting expect that after the Soviet Union unilaterally adopted the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, all the nuclear powers which have not yet done so will do the same.

In the present-day complex international situation it is particularly necessary to break the deadlock over the cause of real limitation and reduction of armed forces and armaments. In this connection the participants in the meeting call for the resolute activization of the ongoing talks and for the resumption of the interrupted talks on the entire range of questions of ending the arms race, for persevering and patient work to reach agreements on reduction and elimination of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons. They support and welcome the proposals of the Soviet Union on ending the arms race and promoting disarmament.

The states represented at the meeting attach much importance to the achievement of success at the Soviet-American talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms.

The participants in the meeting believe that agreement between major military powers on stopping the build-up of their armed forces and armaments, particularly nuclear weapons, would become a major step towards ending the arms race. In this connection they note with satisfaction that the overwhelming majority of states and ever broader sections of the world public are advocating a freeze on nuclear arsenals today. A mutual quantitative freeze on the strategic arms of the USSR and the USA and the maximum possible restrictions on their modernisation could become one of the more tangible embodiments of this idea.

The states represented at the meeting resolutely advocate, furthermore, the drafting of a programme of stage-by-stage nuclear disarmament and, within its framework, of agreements to end the development and production of new systems of nuclear weapons, the production of fissionable materials to develop different types of these weapons, and the production of the means of delivery of nuclear weapons. All this would create conditions for progress towards the elimination of nuclear weapons.

They also believe it necessary to speed up the achievement of agreements on a number of concrete questions and in this connection call upon all the states to give a fresh impetus to talks, including those within the framework of the Geneva Disarmament Committee, with a view to:

- Drafting in the shortest possible time a treaty on the complete and universal prohibition of nuclear weapons tests;
- speeding up the drafting of an international convention on the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons;
- going over to the drafting of a convention to ban neutron weapons;
- beginning talks without delay on prohibiting the deployment of weapons of any type in outer space;
- finalising as soon as possible an international convention on the prohibition of radiological weapons;
- speeding up the solution of the question of strengthening security guarantees to non-nuclear states.

Continuing to attach much importance to the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the participants in the meeting welcome the recent increase of the number of states which are parties

to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and express the hope that the other countries which have not yet joined it will do so in the near future. They speak in favour of achieving an international agreement on the non-deployment of nuclear weapons in those countries which do not have them at the moment and on the non-build-up of these weapons in those countries in which they have already been deployed.

They believe that the drafting of measures to ensure the safe development of nuclear power engineering and to prevent attacks on civilian nuclear projects with the use of any means would help to strengthen universal security and at the same time to extend international co-operation in the peaceful use of nuclear power.

In view of the continuous improvement of conventional weapons, which are becoming ever more formidable, it is necessary to make fresh efforts to substantially lower the present levels of conventional arms and armed forces both on a global scale and in individual regions and to conduct relevant talks for this purpose. It is also useful to resume talks on limiting the sales and supplies of conventional weapons.

In view of the growing role of navies, the participants in the meeting are in favour of beginning talks on limiting naval activities and limiting and reducing naval armaments, and also on extending confidence-building measures to the areas of seas and oceans. They advocate the withdrawal of ships carrying nuclear weapons from the Mediterranean and the renunciation of the deployment of nuclear weapons in the territories of the non-nuclear Mediterranean countries.

The participants in the meeting also reiterate their invariable position in favour of fresh efforts on an international scale for the dismantling of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of troops from foreign territories.

The states represented at the meeting proceed from the assumption that any agreements on reducing armaments and on disarmament should provide for proper measures to verify their implementation, including, when necessary, international procedures.

Bearing in mind that the growing military spending is directly related to the escalation of the arms race, the participants in the

meeting urge the NATO countries to reach practical agreement on non-escalating military spending and on its subsequent reduction both in per cent and in absolute values. Agreement on this problem should, of course, embrace all the states having major military potentials.

The resources released as a result of cutbacks in military spending would be used to promote economic and social development, in particular to assist the developing countries in this field.

The participants in the meeting give a reminder that the proposals of their states on the non-escalation and substantial reduction of military spending, made jointly or individually, remain in force. They suggest that direct talks between the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty organization and the NATO member states begin without delay.

In the light of the existing situation the highest representatives of the states which have adopted the present political declaration state: there is no more important task for the peoples today than that of preserving peace and ending the arms race. It is the duty of all the governments, all the statesmen formulating the policies of their countries, to accomplish it.

The strengthening of security in Europe is a major component in the task of removing the threat of war and strengthening universal peace. This is so first and foremost because vast quantities of arms, both nuclear and conventional, are concentrated on the European continent and because the armed forces of the two military alliances are in direct contact there.

At the same time a foundation has been created in Europe by the joint efforts of states for the consistent development of relations of good-neighbourliness and co-operation among them, mutual respect and trust. All the European states have learned from their own experience the benefits offered by *détente*. There are among them no states whose interests would not be promoted by the preservation and advancement of the achievements of *détente*.

In this context the participants in the meeting give a reminder of the significance which is attached to the strict observance of the treaties and agreements determining the territorial-political realities of present-day Europe. They particularly stress the importance of the

jointly formulated and thoroughly agreed principles and clauses of the Helsinki Final Act, which should be strictly respected and consistently translated into reality.

Analysing the situation taking shape in Europe at present, the participants in the meeting have drawn attention to the most serious threat posed to the European nations by the intention of the NATO bloc to implement its decision to deploy new American medium-range missiles in a number of West European countries, the decision reiterated in December 1982. The implementation of this decision is bound to diminish trust and worsen the situation on the European continent.

For their part the states represented at the meeting consider it a key task to prevent the emergence of another round of the nuclear arms race in Europe and to achieve the reduction and limitation of armaments. This is important to strengthen European security, to ensure the positive development of state-to-state relations on the continent and to improve the entire international situation.

The Warsaw Treaty member countries believe that the best solution would be to completely rid Europe of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical ones. They proceed from the assumption that if this truly "zero" decision cannot be reached at the moment, it is feasible to take the way of the radical reduction of medium-range nuclear systems in Europe on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security. In this respect the importance of the Soviet-American talks on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe is very great. The meeting noted the contribution made by the Soviet Union in its proposals made public in Moscow on 21 December 1982.

These talks, however, are taking place at a time when the NATO countries state their intention to begin as early as the end of 1983 to deploy new American medium-range missiles in Western Europe if agreement is not reached at the talks by that time. Given such an approach, which is equivalent to fixing an artificial deadline for the talks, it will be enough for its proponents to continue to procrastinate them so as to use the lack of agreement as a pretext to begin the actual deployment of American missiles.

The participants in this meeting believe it absolutely important for the talks on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe to be

conducted in a constructive spirit and for utmost efforts to be made to achieve concrete agreements at them as soon as possible. It is necessary for the success of the talks that no action should be taken that could complicate them but that, conversely, steps should be taken to contribute to the creation of a favourable atmosphere for their progress.

In view of the vital importance of the reduction and limitation of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe for all the European peoples, the participants in the meeting express the hope that all European states will contribute to progress at the Soviet-American talks on this matter and to their successful completion.

The participants in the meeting advocate the ridding of Europe of another type of weapon of mass destruction, the chemical weapon. Their states are prepared to examine together with other interested states all the possible ways and means leading to the solution of this problem, and to enter appropriate negotiations.

Resolutely advocating radical reductions in the nuclear arsenals in Europe and the ridding of Europe of chemical weapons, the states represented at the meeting also note the danger created for European peace by the concentration of vast quantities of conventional weapons on the continent. This danger will grow considerably if the plans for the build-up of the latest types of such weapons in Western Europe are carried out, thus further speeding up the arms race.

They speak anew in favour of the reduction of the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe and believe it particularly necessary to advance the Vienna talks, which have lasted for many years now. It is the belief of the participants in the meeting that there is every condition for working out agreement at the Vienna talks as soon as possible, within not more than one or two years, and it is important that this should be done. They for their part will facilitate this in every way.

In this context the participants in the meeting advocate a practical step in reducing armed forces and armaments by the Soviet Union and the United States in Central Europe on the basis of reciprocity. Verification of the implementation of this step by representatives of both sides could be organized. Upon its completion, the levels of the armed forces and armaments of the direct participants in the Vienna

talks on both sides could be frozen until agreement is reached at the talks. The participants in the meeting proceed from the assumption that after the initial mutual reductions of the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe the talks should be continued and progress should be made as soon as possible to further, larger reductions.

The states represented at the meeting speak in favour of proposals to establish nuclear-free zones in the north of Europe, in the Balkans and in other parts of the continent, and to turn the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation. They advocate appropriate talks on these questions.

The situation existing in Europe demands more than ever before the pooling of the efforts of states to consistently pursue a policy of *détente*, peace and disarmament. That is why the continuation and extension of the multilateral process initiated by the European Conference on Security and Co-operation is acquiring particular significance.

Proceeding from all this, the states represented at the meeting advocate the productive completion of the Madrid meeting of representatives of the states participating in the European conference with the adoption of a meaningful and well-balanced final document.

They attach particular importance to the achievement by the Madrid meeting of an agreement on convening a conference on confidence-building measures, security and disarmament in Europe, designed to make a major contribution towards lessening military confrontation, diminishing mistrust and resolving questions of reducing armed forces and armaments in that part of the world.

They consider it very important that the Madrid meeting should reiterate the determination of the states participating in it to respect and apply the principles of state-to-state relations approved in Helsinki, determine, in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the final act, measures to promote co-operation in the political, economic, humanitarian and other fields, and ensure the continuity of the general European process and its organizational framework, including the fixing of the date and venue of the next meeting of the representatives of the states participating in the European conference.

ence. They reiterate their position in favour of holding this meeting in Bucharest.

The success of the Madrid meeting would meet in equal measure, from the point of view of the present and the future, the interests of all the states participating in the European conference. That is why the decisions which the meeting should adopt can only be based on this reality and be acceptable to all.

The participants in the meeting declare that their states will continue, as before, to contribute in every way to the soonest possible completion of work to agree the final document of the Madrid meeting. They expect a similarly constructive approach from the other participants in the meeting.

The states represented at the meeting are prepared to develop mutually beneficial contacts with all European states. In accordance with this, they advocate:

- the continuation and extension of political dialogue and consultations at all levels and the broadest possible political intercourse.

- What is meant here also is the development of contacts on a bilateral and multilateral basis between parliaments, political parties, trades unions and youth, women's and other organizations to promote peace and security in Europe;

- the extension in every way of business co-operation in the trade, industrial, agricultural, scientific and technological fields without any discrimination, and confidence-building measures in economic relations. Truly boundless vistas are being opened here for co-operation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit;

- the extension of the mutual spiritual enrichment of the European peoples, exchanges of artistic values, propagation of truthful and honest information, and cultivation of sentiments of mutual friendliness and respect.

The states represented at the meeting share the position of the Polish People's Republic that any attempt at outside interference in questions lying solely within its competence runs counter to the commonly recognized norms of international relations and will continue to be firmly rebuffed. They strongly denounce the "sanctions"

introduced by the United States and certain other Western countries against Poland. Polish internal affairs will continue, as before, to be decided solely by Poland. Socialist Poland can always count on the moral, political and economic support of the fraternal socialist countries.

In Europe, where states with different social systems have been coexisting for many decades now, only a policy of peaceful coexistence can be viable.

In exchanging opinions on other international issues, the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic noted that the improvement in the world situation depended to a considerable extent on the elimination of the existing seats of armed conflicts and the prevention of the emergence of new ones in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions.

There are no problems, worldwide or regional, which could not be resolved fairly by peaceful means. The main thing is that everyone should recognize in practice the legitimate right of the people of every country to decide themselves, without outside interference, their internal affairs and to participate on the basis of equality in international affairs; that everyone should respect the independence and territorial integrity of states and the inviolability of their borders and respect the principle of the renunciation of the threat of use of force; that no power should try to pursue a policy of hegemony and establish "spheres of interests" or "spheres of influence".

It is the belief of the participants in the meeting that the removal of the causes of many conflicts necessitates the ultimate elimination of all the vestiges of colonialism and racism, renunciation of the policy of neocolonialism, oppression and exploitation of other peoples. This is confirmed with utmost clarity by the dangerous situation in southern Africa, where Namibia, illegitimately occupied by the South African racists, serves as a base for aggression against neighbouring African countries. Fresh proof was supplied by the armed conflict in the South Atlantic in the Spring of 1982.

The danger of local conflicts erupting into armed confrontation on

a worldwide scale is connected to a large extent to attempts at the direct or indirect involvement of states in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania into military-political alliances and the spread of the sphere of activities of blocs to those countries. Reiterating that the Warsaw Treaty member states have no intention to extend the sphere of activity of their alliance, the participants in the meeting call upon the NATO member countries to renounce the extension of the zone of action of their bloc to any part of the world, in particular the Persian Gulf.

Major contributions towards the elimination and prevention of crisis situations are being made by the nonaligned movement, the practical steps of which towards these goals deserve recognition and support from all states. Such regional associations of states as the Organization of African Unity and the Arab League are also called upon to play a positive role in this respect.

The participants in the meeting believe that the initiatives of states in Asia, Africa, and Latin America aimed at establishing and promoting relations of good neighbourliness and creating zones of peace and co-operation open a promising way to removing tension in various parts of those regions. The proposal to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace is particularly important. The resumption and successful completion of the Soviet-American talks on the limitation and subsequent reduction of military activity in the Indian Ocean would also play an important role. It is necessary to use political means to achieve solutions to problems existing in the Caribbean and Southeast Asia, and to contribute towards stronger peace in Asia and the Pacific.

The participants in the meeting attach special importance to the task of resolving the most protracted and dangerous conflict, that in the Middle East. They strongly denounce the invasion of Lebanon by Israel, the Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, and the barbarous massacre of the civilian population of West Beirut. Here Israel was encouraged to carry out its aggressive actions by those who were giving it outside assistance and support.

The participants in the meeting demand an immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and the ensuring of the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of that country.

They view positively the principles of the solution of the problem of settlement in the Middle East put forward by the conference of the Arab heads of state and government in Fez and express their conviction that a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East should provide: for the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the eastern part of Jerusalem; for recognition of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to establish their own independent state, for ensuring the right of all the states in the region to secure an independent existence and development; for termination of the state of war and establishment of peace between Arab states and Israel; for drafting and adoption of international guarantees for a peaceful settlement.

The accomplishment of these tasks calls for the convocation of an international conference with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. The United Nations can and must play an important role here.

The states represented at the meeting advocate the cessation of the war between Iran and Iraq and the settlement of contentious problems between them through negotiations; the peaceful solution of the conflict between the countries of the Horn of Africa and other disputes in Africa on the basis of mutual respect for independence and territorial integrity; the solution of conflict situations in Central and South America by political means.

An end should be put to the policy of continuous threats and provocations against Cuba and Nicaragua and to any attempts at outside interference in their internal affairs.

The participants in the meeting positively appraise the initiation of talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan through a personal envoy of the UN Secretary General.

The eradication of underdevelopment, the gradual narrowing of the gap between economic development levels and provision of conditions for the harmonious growth of international contacts in the economic, scientific and technological fields constitute one of the basic factors of economic stability and the improvement of the international political climate.

In this context the participants in the meeting reiterate their

position in favour of restructuring international economic relations on a fair and democratic basis, establishing a new international economic order and ensuring the complete sovereignty of countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania over their natural resources. They speak in favour of the soonest possible beginning of global talks on major economic problems in accordance with UN Resolutions.

The states participating in the meeting advocate a greater role for the United Nations in international affairs as an important forum for pooling the efforts of states to promote peace and international security and to contribute to the solution of urgent world problems.

The participants in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee believe it necessary to reiterate their conviction that the preservation of universal peace today is inseparable from recognition of the equal rights of all the peoples and states. Peace can be firm only if it is just, with every state recognizing and respecting the legitimate rights and interests of all the others.

The lessening of the threat of war is impossible without the creation of a climate of trust in relations between states. This requires, in addition to the development of political dialogue and the adoption of appropriate measures in the economic and military fields, the propagation of truthful information, renunciation of claims to the great-power status and the propagation of racism, chauvinism and national exclusiveness, of attempts to teach other peoples how to arrange their lives, and of professing of violence and incitement of war psychosis.

The states participating in the meeting believe it fundamentally important to consistently observe the principles and clauses of the Helsinki Final Act relating to co-operation in the field of information so as to strengthen peace and mutual understanding among the peoples, and note the topicality of the 1978 Unesco declaration on these matters. They strongly denounce the use of such a powerful tool of influencing human minds and shaping public opinion as the press, radio and television to propagate biased and downright slanderous news misrepresenting the situation in certain countries and their policies and fostering hostility and enmity. No state should allow such subversive activities to be conducted from its territory.

Manipulating the issue of human rights, the reactionary, imperialist forces are trying to conceal in this way their disregard for the basic rights of the working people and the vital interests of the peoples. In the recent period they have launched an extensive campaign against the socialist countries and the national liberation and other progressive movements with the purpose of justifying the policy of confrontation and the arms race, of encroachment of the independence of different states, of interference in their internal affairs, of complicating conditions for their economic development and of countering the policy of *détente*. This policy runs counter to the legitimate, commonly recognized rights of all the peoples and nations, primarily to their right to live.

The lessons of history are a reminder that anti-Communism has always been a component of the onslaught on the democratic freedoms and rights of the peoples, and of the policy of aggression and war. The attempts to organize another anti-Communist crusade result in the escalation of international tension, threatening the interests of all the countries.

No one will succeed in subverting the socialist system with the help of misinformation and slander. Socialism has achieved outstanding successes in the economy and culture, in asserting equal rights and friendship of nations, in providing favourable conditions for the development of the individual, and ensures the involvement of the broad masses of the population in governing their countries and the constant development of democracy.

One of the major achievements of socialism was the formation of a new type of international relations based on voluntary and equal co-operation and internationalist solidarity of sovereign socialist states. The participants in the meeting, expressing the will of their Communist parties and peoples, reiterate their resolve to continue to strengthen the cohesion of socialist countries, to develop and extend political, economic and cultural co-operation and to pool their efforts in the struggle for the cause of peace and progress.

They stressed the importance of extending economic and scientific and technical co-operation and collaboration between socialist countries on a long-term basis within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance so as to promote the economic and

social development of each country, and to assist in the solution of economic problems that arise, in carrying out the programmes of building Socialism and Communism, and in raising the material, intellectual and cultural standards of life of their peoples. This will be a major contribution to co-operation among socialist countries in the economic field.

The states participating in the meeting stress that every people has the sovereign right to decide freely, without any outside interference, how to live and what social system to establish, just as it has the legitimate right to defend its choice.

Being aware of their responsibility for the cause of peace and international security, the socialist countries strictly separate in their policies ideological issues from problems of state-to-state relations, build their relations with capitalist states on the basis of peaceful coexistence, and consistently advocate large-scale co-operation with the developing countries. Co-operation among states regardless of their social systems meets the interests of all the peoples and the vital demand for stronger universal peace.

Given the entire multifaceted character of present-day international problems, prospects for the development of the situation in Europe and in the world at large depend to a very large extent on whether mistrust is removed and the level of confrontation lowered between the two largest military and political alliances, the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, which possess huge potentials, particularly in the field of nuclear weaponry. An armed conflict between them would have pernicious consequences for all the peoples.

The Warsaw Treaty member states have long been advocating the dissolution of both alliances, and as the first step the dismantling of their military organizations. This proposal remains in force, and they reiterate their readiness to enter negotiations with the NATO member countries with a view to achieving an appropriate agreement, beginning with the question of scaling down military activities on a reciprocal basis.

The present-day tense situation, however, makes it impossible to wait any longer. There is a need for urgent effective measures which can already today lessen mistrust between the Warsaw Treaty mem-

ber states and the NATO member states and diminish their fears of possible aggression.

The Warsaw Treaty member states do not seek military superiority over the NATO member states nor have any intention to attack them or any other country, in Europe or elsewhere. The NATO member states also declare that they have no aggressive intentions. In this situation there should be no reason preventing the adoption by the states comprising the two alliances appropriate mutual commitments of an international legal character. In the context of the present situation this would have a particularly beneficial effect on all the subsequent development of international events.

Proceeding from these considerations, the Warsaw Treaty member states, in the person of their highest representatives, address to the member states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization the proposal to conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and on the maintenance of relations of peace.

The core of the treaty could be the mutual commitment of the member states of both alliances not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against each other and therefore not to be the first to use against each other any military force at all. This commitment could apply to the territories of all the other states joining the treaty, and also to their military and civilian personnel, sea-going, air and space craft and other objects belonging to them wherever they may be.

It seems proper to provide in the treaty for a similar commitment on the non-use of force by the member states of both alliances against third countries, whether those having bilateral relations of alliance with them, or nonaligned or neutral countries.

Another substantial component of the treaty could be the commitment of the member states of both alliances not to jeopardize the safety of international sea, air and space communications passing through areas outside any national jurisdiction.

It seems desirable to complement in the treaty the commitment not to use military force by the commitment to conduct in the spirit of goodwill talks on effective measures to end the arms race, to limit and reduce armaments and to promote disarmament, or to contribute by

other possible means to the success of such talks with a view to achieving practical results at them.

The same goal could be promoted by the commitment to examine jointly practical measures to avert the threat of a surprise attack and also to contribute to the development of mutual exchanges of military delegations and visits of naval ships and air force units.

It is important to combine the commitment not to use military force in the treaty also with provisions on strengthening the United Nations as a universal instrument of collective security. In this context it is useful to write into the treaty readiness to co-operate in enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations in performing, in accordance with its Charter, tasks on the peaceful settlement of international disputes and conflict situations, on suppressing acts of aggression and on removing the threat to international peace and security.

The treaty between the member states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the member states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of relations of peace would not, of course, limit the legitimate right of the participants in it to individual and collective self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter. At the same time it would relieve the members of both alliances of the fears that the commitments of alliance within each of them can be used for aggressive purposes against the member states of the other alliance and that these commitments therefore pose a threat to their security.

Although the treaty of the mutual non-use of military force and maintenance of relations of peace is proposed to be concluded between the member states of the two military and political alliances, other interested European countries would have the right to participate in drafting it and to sign it.

The treaty would also be open from the outset for other willing states of the world to join as equal parties.

The participants in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee are convinced that the conclusion of this treaty could help to overcome the division of Europe into confronting military groupings and meet the desire of the peoples to live in peace and security. They

call upon the member states of the North Atlantic alliance to consider with utmost attention this new initiative and to respond to it in a constructive manner.

Having stated in the present political declaration their ideas of the ways and means of strengthening peace and preserving and extending the relaxation of international tension in the present-day conditions, the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty declare their readiness for dialogue and co-operation with all those who seek to achieve this great goal.

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

For the Hungarian People's Republic

Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

For the German Democratic Republic

Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic.

For the Polish People's Republic

Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

For the Socialist Republic of Romania

Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Prague, 5 January 1983.

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